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International Production Cooperation Conference

LD2206164888 Budapest MTI in English
1600 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 22 (MTI)—Entitled 'Production Cooperation and Product Quality', a three-day international conference opened in Budapest, on Wednesday. Experts from Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, and the Soviet Union are studying the issues of cooperation between the companies of the socialist countries.

In his opening address Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and minister of trade, pointed out that the conditions of cooperation inside the CMEA have to be based on new foundations, among other things with the extension of direct company cooperation. In practice these relations are still subject to high-level political decisions, and not to the rules of the market. As we see, he said, the economic processes in the socialist countries, though to varying extents, are still managed from above, and the autonomy of the companies does not reach the level necessary for making commitments in international cooperation. These circumstances also impede the extension of cooperation of the Hungarian companies.

The endeavours that try to apply principles differing from those generally adopted in the CMEA price calculation of commodities delivered under the cooperation agreements also impede the development of cooperation. In this context Jozsef Marjai expounded that the system of prices needs modernizing, but its prerequisite is the establishment of a common CMEA currency for multilateral payments.

PPR, GDR, CSSR Hold Environment Talks

LD2306193288 Warsaw PAP in English
1558 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Walbrzych, June 23—A negotiating tripartite meeting of a working group preparing a draft agreement between the Governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR concerning cooperation in environment protection wound up today at a Castle of Ksiaz near Walbrzych, southwestern Poland.

The parties discussed the draft agreement worked out by the Polish delegation, adding to it their own remarks and proposals which are then to be subject to intrastate analyses.

The parties agreed that the agreement should cover the most acute problems of environment protection and create permanent basis for multilateral cooperation, particularly in such fields as protection of the air, forests and border-waters.

Trade Officials View CEMA-EEC Relations

AU2806153088 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Jun 88 p 4

["Our Commentary"]

[Text] We wanted to have a Bulgarian commentary on the new interrelationships that are developing between the EEC and CEMA and between Bulgaria and the EEC, so we requested statements from our colleagues in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Sasho Spasov, chief of the Foreign Economic Policy Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "The declaration by CEMA and the EEC became possible primarily as a result of the improved political climate in Europe. It marks an end to an abnormal situation of mutual nonrecognition by two of the world's largest economic communities. The declaration marks only the beginning of the cooperation, which, in the future, is planned to be concretely specified in economics, science, and technology."

At the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations we met with Atanas Paparizov, a chief director in the ministry.

"Preliminary talks between Bulgaria and the EEC Commission began in October 1986," Atanas Paparizov told us. "Their aim was to look for possibilities for signing an agreement between Bulgaria and the EEC. Now favorable conditions exist for developing trade and economic contacts between Bulgaria and the EEC; these have arisen from the normalization of relations between the two communities and from the establishment of official relations between Bulgaria and the EEC. We favor agreements that embrace both trade and economic cooperation. We do not regard the agreement with the EEC as a substitute for our bilateral relations with the EEC member countries, in the fields of industrial production sharing, joint projects for scientific and technical cooperation, and joint enterprises that are set up on a bilateral basis.

"What makes us seek links with the Common Market? The realities make us do it. It is becoming increasingly necessary to build cooperation not on the basis of one-time trade deals, but on the basis of long-term production, trading, and scientific-technical links. This is the inevitable future of economic relations in Bulgaria."

Indian Trade Minister Meets With Officials

AU2306191988 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 23 Jun 88

["Bulgaria, India Activate Trade and Economic Ties"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 23 (BTA)—Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, minister of state for trade of India, led a delegation on a visit to this country.

The head of the delegation was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and by Mr Ognyan Doynov, president of the Heavy Engineering Association and cochairman of the Bulgaro-Indian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

The Indian officials conferred with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The sides found that bilateral trade and economic exchanges are making fine progress and agreed on the further promotion of contacts in electronics, mechanical engineering, pharmaceutics and the light industry. The traditional forms of trade used so far will be diversified by new ones: joint industrial production, establishment of joint ventures, joint entry on third countries' markets and engineering and transfer of technology.

Particular attention was paid to the active contacts between the two countries' chambers of commerce and to the widening of participation in fairs and exhibitions in Bulgaria and India.

India's Rao Arrives for Culture Days Opening

Meets Atanasov, Others

AU2406150188 Sofia BTA in English 1342 GMT 24 Jun 88

["Bulgaria-India: Cultural Exchanges"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 24 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received an Indian delegation led by Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources development. The guests are visiting in connection with the opening of the Indian cultural season in Bulgaria.

The delegation met with Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and with Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of science, education and culture.

The sides stressed the importance of intercultural contacts for the establishment of a climate of trust and understanding in the world. The guests were familiarized with the restructuring under way in all areas of life in Bulgaria, the intellectual sphere included.

It was emphasised that the friendly Bulgaro-Indian relations can benefit in an important way from interaction in culture, science and education. The sides discussed the opportunities for a further enhancement of bilateral exchanges, of direct contacts between cultural workers and artists in the two countries.

Opening of Culture Festival

AU2506193788 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 25 Jun 88

["Indian Cultural Season"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 25 (BTA)—An Indian cultural season in Bulgaria was opened at a gala concert here today. The programme, which will be running into July, includes exhibitions of Indian miniatures and book, of arts and crafts, of children's creativity, of works by contemporary lady artists, screenings of eight films, concerts by folk dance companies, poetry and prose readings by poets and fiction writers.

The season is an outgrowth of the traditionally fine cultural contacts between Bulgaria and India and, at the same time, a first attempt to present simultaneously so many different aspects of traditional and modern Indian art. A similar programme on Bulgarian culture will soon be held in India. A greetings address from Mr Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India, was read at the opening ceremony today.

Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, India's minister of health and family welfare and human resources development (who is minister of external affairs as from today), head of his country's delegation to the season, told the press that India and Bulgaria maintain close, fruitful contacts in all fields, culture included. The importance of intercultural cooperation for an improvement of the international climate was stressed at the Indian government minister's meetings with Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and with Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education. Among other things, the sides considered the opportunities for more active direct contacts between cultural workers and artists in the two countries.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 25 June reports the opening of the Indian cultural season as follows: "In the Bulgaria Hall in Sofia today the Days of Indian Culture in Bulgaria were festively opened with speeches by Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, and by Mr Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources development of India. The opening of the Days of Indian Culture is marked by a series of exhibitions in Sofia."]

Received by Zhivkov

AU2606182288 Sofia BTA in English
1742 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Text] Sofia, June 26 (BTA—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, today received Mr P.W. Narasimha Rao, India's minister of external affairs who leads his country's delegation to the Indian cultural season in Bulgaria.

In a friendly atmosphere, the sides expressed satisfaction with the traditionally fine relations between the two countries and peoples and stressed the shared desire for wider and more active future contacts.

Mr Zhivkov and Mr Rao examined in detail the key aspects of the international situation following the Moscow summit. They agreed that the positive changes in the USSR-U.S. relations should become irreversible and should lead to a reduction in nuclear arsenals and to a further consolidation of world peace. It was pointed out that Bulgaria and India will be contributing most actively to the attainment of this universal goal.

The meeting was attended by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs and Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of science, education and culture.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 26 June reports that "Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council gave a luncheon in honor of P.W. Narasimha Rao, minister of external affairs of India today, which was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, and Andrey Lukanov." The same report further states that "The minister of external affairs of India visited the Unknown Soldier's Monument in Sofia today where he laid a wreath."]

Views External Affairs

AU2706140088 Sofia BTA in English
1242 GMT 27 Jun 88

["Interview of Narasimha Rao"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—The Moscow summit is a very good and hopeful step forward, said Mr P.W. Narasimha Rao, who was appointed India's minister for external affairs at the time of his visit to this country as a minister of human resources development.

In an interview for the Bulgarian Television aired on June 25 Mr Narasimha Rao stressed that India, and undoubtedly the whole of humanity is happy and looks to the future with some confidence that eventually a situation will develop where the danger of the entire mankind being wiped out of existence can be completely and effectively obviated.

He pointed out that India has and would continue to take interest and continue to be fully involved in the deliberations as well as other developments in the field of disarmament. We are for total and complete disarmament, starting with the nuclear disarmament, without any conditions, says Mr Narasimh. Rao.

He emphasized that India supports Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives.

A problem that threatened to expand far beyond its areas is at last on the way to solution, said Narasimha Rao, expressing his opinion about the Geneva accords related

to Afghanistan. We want Afghanistan to be sovereign, independent and nonaligned. That is the ultimate objective India has in view and if Afghanistan is proceeding in that direction as we believe it is, we are happy about it. There is a long way to go. There are still some forces in the region—I wouldn't like to concreticize—who do not assist the political settlement of this regional conflict, but I am sure that this obstacle will also be overcome, noted the Indian minister.

Mr Narasimha Rao, who opened the days of Indian culture in Bulgaria on Saturday, expressed the opinion that the Bulgaro-Indian friendship has all the chances for development and deepening.

Committee Criticizes State of Military Vehicles

AU2806180288 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jun 88 p 3

["Own information" report: "In the Committee for State and People's Control: Measures for Tomorrow"]

[Text] Checks carried out by the Military Vehicle Inspectorate have established that, of the vehicles using the country's roads, 9.5 percent were found to have technical defects, as compared to 8.5 percent in 1986. Of the defective vehicles, 2.5 percent were found to be especially dangerous, as compared to 3.8 percent for the previous year. In 1987 the number of vehicles prohibited from continuing their journeys because of technical defects or irregularities in their documents, defective odometers, inappropriate use, or other irregularities was 0.7 percent higher than in 1986.

The systematic inspection carried out by the Committee for State and People's Control shows that the specialized control organs of the Bulgarian People's Army that were inspected are making efforts to resolve the problems and tasks relating to ensuring safety and good driving standards on the roads. Despite this, certain omissions still exist that are indicative of a lack of effectiveness in this work.

The technical equipment of the control organs lags behind modern achievements in the field. There is a lack of exigence and a reluctance to bring to account leading officials responsible for road traffic accidents [sentence as published]. Serious problems exist in interaction, cooperation, and coordination between the units that comprise the system that has been especially set up for the uniform control of road safety and the accident-free operation of equipment. Rational use is still not being made of the large number of vehicle inspectors that are appointed annually to the military vehicle inspectorates. The normative regulations for the work, structure, and tasks of the municipal commissions include no provision for them to include among their members representatives of the military garrisons located in their areas. Both the leading officials and the specialized control organs show a low standard of control and strictness.

To improve the work of the specialized control organs for road safety in the Armed Forces and to eliminate the weaknesses noted, the leadership of the Committee for State and People's Control orders the relevant leaders to bring to book the officials responsible for the organs' low level of stringency. It instructs the leaderships to improve planning and organization, introduce the most important achievements of scientific and technical progress into control work, implement measures for even closer interaction and cooperation, carry out critical analyses, and adopt measures to prevent serious traffic accidents. The leaderships must improve the level of training of their cadres, increase cooperation among themselves in maintaining a highly organized teaching and educational regime in the vehicle driving schools, deal with the commanders with greater strictness with regard to committed violations, and organize regular servicing of the control equipment with the "Elektron" Economic Trust.

It is proposed that the leaderships of the Construction Troops and the Troops of the Ministry of Transportation should draw up a new statute for the vehicle inspectorates, along the lines of the statute for the military vehicle inspectorates of the Ministry of National Defense.

At the session of the leadership of the Committee for State and People's Control, leaders in high posts made speeches regarding the report made by Major General Penko Mayorov, deputy chairman of the committee. They accepted the results of the check with understanding and voiced their agreement to adopting speedy measures, if only for the simple reason that one and the same thing is repeated year after year, and the negative results are beginning to arouse our surprise.

Up to the end of last week, 456 people have been killed and 2,553 seriously injured throughout the country. And let us not forget that the peak tourist season is now beginning.

'Socialist Democracy' at the CPSU Conference

LD2906085488 Prague CTK in English
0740 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 29 (CTK)—"Socialist democracy, concept of the role of the party and state—this is the key issue dealt with by the 19th All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party, "RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The conference clearly shows the continuity of political thinking and practice. The party is again turning to the source of scientific truthfulness, Marxism-Leninism and its principles, the daily said adding that Soviet Communists do not start from nothing. They have behind them huge achievements of the socialist construction but also failures making it possible to learn from shortcomings and mistakes which sometimes had very painful consequences. They have passed the unavoidable stage of learning the unknown and now the party, aware of the necessity of deeper knowledge of the past and present, has decided to think over again the theoretical and practical bequest of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V.I. Lenin, particularly those conclusions which were not understood, which were distorted, incorrectly explained or even suppressed, the daily said.

It emphasized a number of ideas from the report submitted to the conference by Mikhail Gorbachev and said that Soviet Communists admitted that they had underestimated many problems in the process of restructuring to date, that they had not known their depth and causes. Only the future can show what was correct and what not, the daily said stressing the necessity to abandon what has become outdated and to continue building on the lasting values.

The first day has shown that the conference places phenomena and events in the Soviet Union into a new light. "The support for the policy of restructuring is a public vote in favour of socialism, it is a democratic choice of the social system which intends to fully assert the communist ideas of freedom, democracy, humanism and social justice," the daily said.

CPCZ CC Greets All-Union CPSU Conference

LD2806134788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1030 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee has sent a telegram of greetings to the delegates attending the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. It says that Communists and the people of our country are following with an uncommon interest the revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union under Communist Party leadership. The political line set by the 27th congress and the subsequent sessions of the CPSU Central Committee have won the full support of the Czechoslovak Communists, and have become an inspiration and a source of lessons in tackling the difficult tasks of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

At its 17th congress, our party, too, guided by the objective need to restore dynamism to the development of socialism, set new tasks in the field of political, economic, and social restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia. The basic prerequisite for fulfilling these bold revolutionary aims is to live and work in peace. The full and unreserved support for the bold and flexible foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, which already has brought its first positive results in the shape of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, springs from this.

The people of Czechoslovakia also want to live in peace and to make their contribution to the process of improving and to the revolutionary renewal of socialist society.

At the close of the message of greetings, the CPCZ Central Committee wishes all Soviet Communists, the people of the fraternal Soviet Union many successes in restructuring, in fulfilling the conclusions to be adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in the interest of speeding up the social and economic development of the Soviet Union and strengthening the positions of socialism and peace in the world.

USSR's Ryzhkov To Visit at Beginning of July

LD2706174588 Prague CTK in English
1653 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 27 (CTK)—Member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov will pay an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the beginning of July.

He will arrive in the country at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government.

Federal Assembly Deputies Meet U.S. Congressmen

LD2806091988 Prague CTK In English
0835 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 28 (CTK)—A group of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputies led by Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Bohuslav Kucera was received here Monday by Chairman of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee Dante Fascell.

Dante Fascell welcomed the improvement of the international atmosphere to which the development of bilateral relations is contributing, and described as significant the development of U.S. contacts also with other states than the Soviet Union.

He stressed the necessity to learn more about one another and called for further contacts between members of the two countries' parliaments.

The Czechoslovak guests were also officially welcomed in the Senate and met for short talks with U.S. senators, including leader of the Democratic majority Robert Byrd, Republican leader Robert Dole and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Claiborne Pell.

Further Reportage on Austria's Vranitzky Visit

Interviewed by RUDE PRAVO

AU2806111588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 88 p 7

[Report by Jan Lipavsky, RUDE PRAVO special correspondent: "For Good-Neighborly Relations and Cooperation in Europe"—in Vienna, date not given]

[Text] Vienna (Our special correspondent)—In connection with the approaching official visit by Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to Czechoslovakia, we have asked him for an interview. Franz Vranitzky has been chancellor of the Republic of Austria since June 1987, and from 1984 until then, he was minister of finance. In May 1988, at the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe), he was elected party chairman.

[Lipavsky] Mr Federal Chancellor, we will welcome you in Prague in a few days. How do you assess Czechoslovak-Austrian relations in recent years?

[Vranitzky] Our bilateral relations underwent an upsurge in recent years, beginning with the meeting between the heads of the two states, Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and Gustav Husak, in Bratislava in January 1986. After that, numerous contacts and government-level meetings were held, which contributed to the intensification of relations. In addition to the existing bilateral bodies, three groups of experts were set up, and charged with dealing with particularly pressing matters. These include easing travel formalities in the broadest sense of the word, establishing culture institutes in the two capitals, and extending exchange of information regarding Czechoslovak nuclear power plants. The work of these groups has already brought partially positive results or made a favorable start. However, our ideas and expectations, for example on the nuclear power plants issue, have not been fulfilled.

To me the important thing seems to be the fact that our exchanges of views on different levels and in different spheres have become so numerous that differing views or occasional disagreements do not result in an impairment of relations as they did in the past. As of a certain time, the Czechoslovak side has been taking a more open approach to our interests. The will and wish to develop closer cooperation, especially in the economic and cultural spheres, are being stressed at all competent levels. General Secretary Milos Jakes told the American magazine TIME recently: Czechoslovakia wishes to improve its relations, especially with Austria. In addition to this we note with great satisfaction that the CSSR repeatedly expresses appreciation for the intensive development of neighborliness as one of the most important objectives of Austrian foreign policy.

[Lipavsky] With what does your government want to contribute to the development of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations?

[Vranitzky] I intimated the main direction in my answer to the first question. Dialogue, pragmatic discussion, exchanges of information, systematic efforts aimed at further improving the atmosphere, all this can be made easier by the results of the activities of the groups of experts. However, the thing that also seems to me important is that the population should benefit from the intensive state relations. The new agreements of three Austrian Bundeslaender with regions bordering with Austria certainly play an important role in this.

Numerous meetings on the level of ministers will contribute to the development of our bilateral relations also. Karl Blecha, our minister of interior, paid a visit to your country recently. We must strive for a rapid practical implementation of the stimuli arising from such meetings in international coexistence.

[Lipavsky] You held talks with Jan Sterba, our minister of foreign trade, last month. The two of you noted that there still exist numerous unused opportunities both in foreign trade as well as industrial cooperation. Could you give specific details?

[Vranitzky] Austrian companies have always been interested in developing trade contacts with the CSSR as well as in industrial cooperation. Despite that, there certainly are a number of unused possibilities, especially for our small and medium enterprises. Therefore, the important thing will be to expand commercial relations and, in particular, support personal contacts which create practical understanding of technical and commercial opportunities and of the interests of partners.

[Lipavsky] Some time ago you held unofficial talks with CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, during which there also was the mention of setting up joint ventures. Have any specific steps been taken on this?

[Vranitzky] The cooperation in establishing joint ventures within the framework of Austro-Czechoslovak economic relations is relatively a new modern form of cooperation in which Austrian entrepreneurs are interested. In addition to the existing joint ventures, the setting up of a number of others is being currently discussed. We also expect an impetus for this form of cooperation from the economic legislation reforms in your country which, the way things look, will also touch on the issue of joint ventures.

[Lipavsky] Let us go on to another subject, please. What would you add to the initiative submitted by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, on the establishment of a zone of trust and good neighborly relations?

[Vranitzky] We have studied the initiative with great interest and our opinion is that this suggestion deserves proper attention and thorough analysis by the main addressees, that is, NATO and the Warsaw Pact member states. Various aspects of this initiative are of great importance for Austria. This applies in particular to the sphere of good neighborliness and creating mutual trust. Precisely this seems to me the main objective of the Czechoslovak initiative, whose practical extent dovetails to a considerable degree with the subjects discussed at the CSCE conference. Any form of successful and fruitful policy of neighborliness is, on principle, an important element of international relations for our country, and precisely because of this the Czechoslovak proposal has elicited great attention and met with positive interest in our country.

[Lipavsky] Austria, like Czechoslovakia, is part of central Europe. How does your party, of which you are chairman, view the initiative of the CPCZ, the SED, and the SPD aimed at establishing a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons?

[Vranitzky] Austria's standpoint on the establishment of zones without chemical and nuclear weapons is very clear. We favor limiting—and in the end eliminating—chemical and nuclear weapons throughout the world. Therefore, any regional elimination of these weapons should be welcome on principle. However, a zone without chemical, and respectively nuclear weapons, must not endanger the regional and global equilibrium, and the states in that zone must decide on its establishment on the basis of their own assessment. The establishment of such zones should be connected with concrete disarmament measures. I, personally, can add that we welcome any disarmament, provided that there will not be a subsequent arms buildup in other spheres.

[Lipavsky] We have read in the Austrian press that you do not exclude the possibility of Austria joining the EEC. What is behind this? And what is your relationship vis-a-vis CEMA and the possibility of comprehensive cooperation with it?

[Vranitzky] The EEC states have decided to create a common internal market by 1992. The economic situation will be completely different then. We must not be excluded from this development and stand in the sidelines. Our country must be as involved as possible in the EEC internal market. That means that we must in some form or another move closer to the internal market and thus to the EC.

[Lipavsky] Thus you do not exclude the possibility of joining the EC?

[Vranitzky] We do not exclude it, but it seems to me important to say that Austria would not accept any form of convergence and, naturally, of membership which would be incompatible with its neutrality.

Right now we are studying what form our relations with the European Communities should take. We want to assess this by 1989 and then decide what form will get us closer to these communities.

Regarding your question of Austria's relations with CEMA, here I can point out our long traditions of good trade relations with the CEMA member states. Our relations with the CEMA states have been for years positively molded within the framework of CSCE and the European Economic Commission. I am sure that these traditions will continue also in the future.

[Lipavsky] And one more question, please: What do you think, in which way will Europe profit from the recent meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Vranitzky] We regard the ratification of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and American Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the agreement on trust-building measures in the nuclear sphere, and the rapprochement in negotiating the START agreement as being substantial progress in arms control. But we hope that the process of dialogue, strengthened by the Moscow talks, will lead to further concrete disarmament steps in the near future, which should include conventional armament and chemical weapons. In this connection we expect all the states participating in the CSCE to realize their responsibility for limiting the armament potential, which has become disproportionate precisely in the conventional sphere. These states will do justice to their responsibility by opening talks on establishing military trust and stability in the conventional sphere soon. For our side I can say that we have offered Vienna as a conference city for both forums.

The aforementioned results of the Moscow conference on the highest level and the frank exchange of views on human rights and humanitarian issues, regional conflicts, and bilateral problems are clear successes in the effort for systematic improvement of not only the relations between the two big powers, but also for all East-West relations. The success of the Moscow summit has an invaluable importance precisely for Europe as the field of gravity for relations between East and West.

[Lipavsky] We thank you for the interview.

Holds Talks With Strougal

LD2706190788 Prague CTK in English 1501 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 27 [CTK]—The good political climate for cooperation was appreciated by visiting Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal during their talks here today.

The Czechoslovak premier suggested that the two sides consider the practice of informal, flexible and regular government contacts, including those at the level of premiers.

Pointing out that Austria is Czechoslovakia's second largest trading partner, Lubomir Strougal said the two sides should concentrate on modern forms of cooperation, especially industrial cooperation and joint ventures. He asked the Austrian chancellor for a reassessment of customs practices towards Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak premier also mentioned the Czechoslovak Government's care for settling all ecological measures, i.e. also those affecting Czechoslovakia's southern neighbour.

Lubomir Strougal further pointed out the universal character of the Czechoslovak initiative to establish a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the border line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, and went on to say that Czechoslovakia is interested in holding an economic forum of countries which signed the Helsinki Final Act, perhaps together with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky called for direct cooperation between industrial enterprises and suggested that research and scientific institutions should establish similar cooperation. In this context he proposed an exchange of experience between organizations dealing with radiation and nuclear physics. The chancellor also put forward a number of proposals concerning ecological questions.

Further Report

LD2806210788 Prague CTK in English
1120 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky had a private meeting here today.

They discussed the positive development of European affairs, and stressed the need to successfully complete the follow-up meeting in Vienna which will open the road towards conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Lubomir Strougal and Franz Vranitzky pointed out joint responsibility of Czechoslovakia and Austria for peaceful cooperation and good neighbourly relations in central Europe. In this connection they debated a number of suggestions for the extension of mutual relations between the two states as well as border regions and lands.

The two representatives laid special emphasis on assertion of modern forms of industrial and scientific-technological cooperation in which traditions, geographical closeness of the two states and needs of their national economies have not yet been properly used.

They voiced the intention of the two countries' governments to support direct cooperation of enterprises, cooperatives and institutes. In this connection they discussed questions of ecological threat and joint measures in this sphere, including exchange of information from the running of nuclear power stations.

Talks Evaluated

LD2806210888 Prague CTK in English
1547 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 28 (CTK)—At a final meeting between the Czechoslovak and Austrian government delegations before Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's departure for Bratislava, Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal evaluated in detail the results of their talks.

He stressed Czechoslovakia's good political will to cooperate on the principles of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourly relations with Austria.

Holds News Conference

LD2806214888 Prague CTK in English
1612 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 28 (CTK)—Talks with the Czechoslovak partners were held in a positive and constructive atmosphere and were very satisfactory, Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky told a news conference here today.

The chancellor arrived on an official visit to Czechoslovakia on June 26 and held talks with Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal.

He told the press conference that Czechoslovak-Austrian relations are good. However, he said he agreed with the Czechoslovak side that there exists scope for their further expansion. "I want to do my best to elevate mutual relations and return to Austria with the conviction that this effort will be successful", he added.

Franz Vranitzky said that one of the concrete results of talks with Czechoslovak partners was the agreement on establishing cultural institutes of the two countries in Prague and Vienna. This will be a practical step towards the development of cultural cooperation, he noted. The respective agreement is to be signed this autumn by the Czechoslovak and Austrian foreign ministers.

It was also agreed during the Czechoslovak-Austrian talks that from January 1, 1989, Austrian nationals entering Czechoslovakia will be granted Czechoslovak entry visas on border crossings.

The talks also included a number of ecological questions. Czechoslovakia promised to supply Austria, inter alia, with information on all its nuclear power plants and both countries agreed on cooperation in this sphere, the chancellor further added.

He recalled he was accompanied in Czechoslovakia by a group of Austrian businessmen who held talks in Prague on the development of economic relations. In this connection he voiced support for a broader establishment of joint ventures of Czechoslovak and Austrian firms. Both sides should also develop cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, Franz Vranitzky said and appreciated in this connection the level of Czechoslovak biotechnology.

Visits Bratislava

LD2806215288 Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Bratislava June 28 (CTK)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived here today within his official visit to Czechoslovakia and was welcomed by Slovak Premier Peter Colotka, Slovak Deputy Premier Stefan Murin and other representatives.

He was shown the historic centre of Bratislava and met at Bratislava Castle with First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Ignac Janak, Chairman of the Slovak National Council Viliam Salgovic and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka.

Viliam Salgovic said on this occasion that the possibilities of expanding and developing Czechoslovak-Austrian relations are not exhausted, and pointed in this connection mainly to the spheres of culture, arts, tourism and transport and the possibility of a joint construction of the Wolfstahl hydro-electric power plant on the Danube. The chairman of the Slovak National Council appreciated the contribution of neutral Austria to the all-European process of detente and cooperation and its significant role in the group and nonaligned and neutral countries. He expressed the conviction that the visit by the Austrian chancellor to Czechoslovakia will contribute to the development of cooperation and good neighbourly relations between the two states.

In his reply, Franz Vranitzky said that since the last visit by the Austrian premier to Czechoslovakia 12 years ago a great progress has been reached in bilateral contacts in many spheres.

He highly appreciated the constructive and open approach at talks with the top Czechoslovak representatives and said the results of these talks have created good prerequisites for the further intensification of bilateral relations.

Slovak Premier Peter Colotka gave a dinner in honour of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Ends Visit, Departs 28 Jun

LD2806215488 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Bratislava June 28 (CTK)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky ended tonight his official visit to Czechoslovakia and left by train from here to Vienna.

He was seen off by Slovak Premier Peter Colotka, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and other representatives.

Hungarian Minority's Problems in Romania

AU2806080688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 88 p 7

[Report by Gejza Vilcek, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Budapest: "On the Exchange of Letters Between the RCP and the MSZMP"]

[Text] Budapest (Our permanent correspondent)—As we reported yesterday [23 June], the leaderships of the RCP and the MZSMP exchanged letters recently, the contents of which are the two sides' positions on issues of the nationality policy, more accurately on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania. The two sides expressed their stances on that problem in their letters.

The Bucharest press has not mentioned this exchange of letters thus far, and the Hungarian press has returned to reporting on the developments in this issue of recent months.

Official reaction to the situation of Hungarians in Romania was heard on 2 April 1987, when a spokesman for the government of the Hungarian People's Republic rejected charges of Romanian media, according to which Hungary has been falsifying the history of Romania, fostering revanchism, and interfering in Romania's internal affairs. These assertions, the government spokesman said, are totally unfounded; they introduce chaos into the cooperation of two neighboring socialist countries, and harm the fundamental interests of the Hungarian and Romanian people.

In its Saturday supplement on 30 January 1988, government daily MAGYAR HIRLAP devoted 4 full-size pages to the situation of Hungarians in Romania. The real number of Hungarians in the SR of Romania is estimated at 2-2,5 million, constituting 12-13 percent of the population. The daily notes that official Romanian statistics give the number of the Hungarians in the country

as being 1.7 million, that is, 7-8 percent of the population of the SR of Romania. It notes further that the number of Hungarian-language periodicals which are published in Romania is being reduced. Their print run has dropped to one-third and prices have been raised 100-150 percent. Some periodicals disappeared completely. In 1975-1985 Romanian television broadcast 2.5 hours of Hungarian-language programs weekly, the broadcasting time was gradually reduced, and was finally stopped in 1984.

Of late Hungarians are being resettled from Romania to Hungary, and a spokesman for the government of the Hungarian People's Republic said the following on this subject on 28 January of this year: "Whereas in 1985 a total of 1,709 citizens of the SR of Romania applied for residence permits in the Hungarian People's Republic, their number rose to 6,499 in 1987. Ninety percent of the applicants are of Hungarian nationality." According to the latest information supplied by Deputy Minister of Interior Zoltan Gal, by 10 June 4,977 citizens of the SR of Romania officially refused to return to Romania. Z. Gal said: "The current situation has ensued at variance with our intentions. However, our moral and political duty is to help people of Hungarian nationality who turn to us. The National Assembly has allocated 300 million forints to assist the resettlers."

In an interview with the Hungarian radio, Karoly Grosz, MZSMP general secretary and premier, stated that he would hold official talks in Romania soon.

Official Discusses CEMA Economic Cooperation

LD2806205788 Prague CTK in English 1324 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 28 (CTK)—For the successful implementation of the tasks of further development of economic cooperation of the CMEA countries it is necessary to change the present way of coordination of their national economic plans, Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak State Planning Commission Jan Strba said at a press conference here today.

He pointed out that this coordination, which is signed for a five-year period, ensures 90-95 per cent of the exchange of goods between the CMEA countries at present. This creates certain economic stability on the one hand but on the other has a share in causing stagnation of economies of the CMEA member states in the sphere of scientific-technological development.

The press conference focused on questions of restructuring of coordination of national economic plans of the CMEA countries in conditions of introducing new economic mechanisms in a number of these countries.

Jan Strba said that future coordination of plans which should be completed in 1990 must proceed from the restructuring of economic mechanisms of the CMEA countries. In this connection a significant role will be played by enterprises. The fact that several CMEA countries will be represented only by state in economic relations does not mean that Czechoslovak enterprises cannot be active in these relations in harmony with the principles of the restructuring of the Czechoslovak economic mechanism.

Coordination of plans must result from the new conception of the international division of labour of the CMEA states which should be adopted at the 44th CMEA session in Prague next month.

PLO's Yasir 'Arafat Pays Official Visit

Arrives 27 Jun

LD2706190888 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived on an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia today.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Comrade Vasil Bilak and other representatives of our political and public life.

Meets National Front Delegation

LD2806143688 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, met in Prague today with a delegation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, headed by Chairman Tomas Travnicek. The two sides discussed mutual cooperation.

Afterward, Yasir 'Arafat visited Lidice, where he placed red flowers at the mass grave of Lidice men as a symbol of respect for the victims of the Lidice tragedy.

Holds Talks With Chnoupek

LD2806163988 Prague CTK in English 1443 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's solidarity with and assistance to the Palestinian people's struggle was appreciated by Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat during his talks with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek here today.

Yasir 'Arafat, who arrived here Monday, stressed that the Palestinian uprising, now in its seventh month, unmasks false claims about Israel being a democratic state and exposes its true, brutal face. He said the only way of solving the explosive situation in the Middle East is the convening of an international conference sponsored by the United Nations.

Yasir 'Arafat praised Czechoslovak peace initiatives, particularly the latest proposal to establish a zone of confidence and cooperation along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

Minister Chnoupek reiterated Czechoslovakia's solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, and said that stable and lasting peace in Europe is impossible without the settlement of the Middle East crisis, without respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

He said the uprising of the Palestinian people is an event of far-reaching significance, adding that the brutalities, committed by the Israeli occupation authorities, demonstrate how the fundamental rights of the Palestinian population are being violated. The minister stressed Czechoslovakia's support for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.

Earlier in the day Yasir 'Arafat met with Czechoslovak National Front Deputy Chairman Tomas Travnicek to inform him of the Palestinian people's struggle for their rights and of the situation in the PLO.

Strougal Urges New Forms of Trade With Egypt

AU2806145688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Reception by L. Strougal"]

[Text] Prague—This Thursday [23 June] CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab, minister of industry of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague.

During their friendly meeting they recalled the traditions of cooperation between our states and governments, which are being followed up in the collaboration programs that are now being prepared. We are conducting a broad political dialogue, and its results are primarily reflected in the cultural and economic spheres.

In connection with the debate on the state of our economic and industrial cooperation, Lubomir Strougal stated that in the future we will not be satisfied with traditional trade, if it becomes necessary to push through entrepreneurship based on cooperation and joint operations in third markets. At the same time he recommended adopting a long-term program of cooperation, which would provide for the export and import needs of both countries. Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab expressed high appreciation of the level of cooperation with Czechoslovak industry, and submitted a number of specific proposals which could provide prerequisites for the growth of trade turnover.

The reception was attended by Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade. 'Umar Gad, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the CSSR, was also present.

Jakes Addresses Journalists on Role of Media

LD2706194988 Prague CTK in English 1857 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 27 (CTK)—At a meeting with journalists here today, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes stressed the significance of mass information media for forming public opinion.

He stressed that the press, radio and television have the decisive share in explaining the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism and deepening socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia and in gaining support of the broad strata of the population for their fulfilment.

In another part of his address he appreciated the fact that the process of restructuring meets with a great support of the people. However, he pointed out that the necessary rate of growth of intensification of the national economy has not been achieved and that there are problems with the low rate of innovation of production, its quality, low productivity of labour and the excessive production input.

The process of deepening socialist democracy will require the full use of all its present forms both in the national front organs and all the parties and social organizations it associates, and in national committees, in the use of their independence, responsibility and greater powers. The work of the Communist Party, which is at the head of the reconstruction process, must set an example in this respect, he further aid.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary further stressed that effective ideological work is necessary for ensuring the fulfilment of all complicated and demanding tasks of the current stage of social restructuring in Czechoslovakia.

"It is of major importance to show the people that things are being solved, that we are advancing", he said adding that the information media must play the decisive role in the struggle for new thinking of people, for a change in their approaches to activities in all spheres of life of the society.

"We are of the opinion that through the press, radio and television the public must see that we are pursuing an open policy, that we are really consulting all basic questions and informing on them. It is our aim that the working people and all citizens fully support the reconstruction and are convinced of its irreversible character. It is necessary to struggle against the beaten-track and wait-and-see attitudes", Milos Jakes further said.

The mass media are a significant tool of control, Milos Jakes said and stressed the need to raise the competence of journalists, their professional level. However, this

excludes the right to sit in judgement. Every journalist must act in a way which clearly shows that he is on the side of reconstruction and democratization of society, he added.

Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik stressed on the same occasion the comprehensive character of the reconstruction and the need to resolutely proceed from Czechoslovakia's conditions in the development of this process. A significant step towards the development of reconstruction will be a session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on ideological questions to be held this autumn, he pointed out.

Slovak National Council Passes New Laws

AU2806120988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 88 pp 1, 2

[Antonia Slotova report: "Drafts of New Laws Approved; The 10th Meeting of the Slovak National Council Has Ended"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The 10th meeting of the Slovak National Council ended in Bratislava yesterday with a debate on the report of the government of the Slovak SR on the implementation of national committees' and their agencies' tasks. [passage omitted]

One point on the agenda was a government-sponsored draft of a law of the Slovak National Council on the jurisdiction of agencies of the Slovak SR in social security matters, the rationale for which was provided by Eva Tokolyova, minister of health and social affairs of the Slovak SR. The submitted government-sponsored draft follows up on the social security law that was recently approved by the Federal Assembly. It is part of the nationwide process of deepening, expanding, and improving care for individual groups of citizens. The minister cited some of the major changes introduced by the amendment. [passage omitted]

Following a debate, the Slovak National Council approved the government-sponsored draft of a law of the Slovak National Council on the jurisdiction of agencies of the Slovak SR in social security matters. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the deputies discussed a government-sponsored draft of a law of the Slovak National Council that changes and amends the Slovak National Council law on national committees. Stefan Lazar, minister of the interior and the environment of the Slovak SR, stressed in his explanatory statement that the submitted draft tackles inevitable implications of the laws that materialize the restructuring of the economic mechanism. A substantial feature of the content of the government-sponsored draft is the codification of legal conditions for the founding and administration of state enterprises operating under national committees. The draft law expands the powers of national committees at individual levels while at the same time incorporating those democratizing elements that arose for the activity of national committees from the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the subsequent sessions of the CPSL Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council approved the submitted government-sponsored draft law.

The rationale for the government-sponsored draft law that changes and amends the law of the Slovak National Council No 130/1981 on domestic trade was provided by Kazimir Nagy, minister of trade and tourism of the Slovak SR. It is one of the basic legal provisions safeguarding the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. [passage omitted] The objective of the amendment of this law is to establish legislative conditions for the further development of domestic trade and for improving the satisfaction of citizens' needs on the domestic market. The Slovak National Council approved the government-sponsored draft law. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council further approved a change in the title of the Slovak National Council Committee for Education, Science, and Culture to Slovak National Council Committee for Culture and Education. This concluded the 10th meeting of the Slovak National Council.

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council met after the conclusion of the meeting and promulgated all three laws approved by the Slovak National Council. At the same time it declared the spring session of the Slovak National Council closed effective 24 June this year.

Establishment of State Enterprises Approved

AU2806124088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jun 88 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government in Session"]

[Text] Prague—At a government session the CSSR Government dealt with the summary report on the first stage of restructuring the organizational structures of our national economic production-technical, scientific-technical, and circulation base into state enterprises. The government approved the establishment of state enterprises by 1 July 1988.

The government stated that the ministerial branches have not proceeded consistently in line with the principles and course set by the CSSR Government decree No 40/1988 in the matter of submitting and discussing proposals on the establishment of state enterprises and of working out appropriate projects for restructuring theorganizational structures. The government therefore stressed that it is essential to treat these principles and

the course set by the resolutions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions with every respect, to strictly adhere to the democratic principles defined for submitting proposals on the establishment of state enterprises, and to discuss these proposals with the agencies and organizations that have submitted them.

The list of state enterprises to be set up by 1 July 1988 on federal and national levels, and the course to be adopted by state enterprises not linked with the experiment in matters of financial management as of 1 July 1988, will be carried by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY No 26, published on Friday, 1 July 1988.

Relations, Trade Treaty Discussed With EEC
LD2806232088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1556 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Brussels, 28 Jun (ADN)—Talks between representatives of the EEC and the GDR took place in Brussels yesterday and today, to prepare for the agreed start of official relations between the GDR and the EEC, and to sound out mutual concepts on a treaty to regulate trade relations between the GDR and the EEC. The GDR stated its readiness to start negotiations on a trade agreement.

Both sides paid tribute to the political significance of the signing of a joint EEC-CEMA declaration on opening official relations. The new possibilities arising from this for fashioning East-West relations were stressed.

The delegations were led by Dr Werner Fleck, department director of the West European department in the GDR Foreign Ministry, and Pablo Benavides, director in the External Relations Directorate General of the EC.

Margot Honecker, DPRK Education Minister Meet
AU2806121188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Margot Honecker, GDR minister of education, received Yi Chong-chu, DPRK minister of general education, for a friendly talk in Berlin on Friday [24 June]. Margot Honecker briefed the visitor on topical tasks in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, aimed at further realizing the party's educational strategy for shaping the content of socialist schools in the GDR. She stressed the creative activities of teachers and all social forces to increase the quality of their work in the further successful training and education of the young. In preparation for the Ninth Educational Congress, both ministers spoke in favor of further expanding the successful cooperation in the field of public education and of strengthening the friendship between the youth and the peoples of the GDR and the DPRK in the interest of strengthening socialism and peace.

The talk was attended by Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR. In the afternoon Yi Chong-chu conducted a friendly exchange of views with Gerhart Neuner, president of the Academy of Educational Sciences.

Horst Sindermann Receives Japanese Delegation
LD2806232688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 28 Jun (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today received a delegation of the Japanese House of Councillors, led by deputy Masatoshi Tokunaga, for talks in the People's Chamber building in Berlin.

Horst Sindermann and Masatoshi Tokunaga paid tribute to the progress achieved in relations between the GDR and Japan. They expressed the wish to deepen political dialogue and bilateral cooperation. The parliaments of both states are prepared to make a constructive contribution to this.

The partners in the talks exchanged experiences on the activities of the parliaments of both countries for securing peace and improving the international situation.

Horst Sindermann paid tribute to the successful course and the results of the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, held in Berlin.

It is now important to increase efforts to continue the process which began with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles, and to agree on further effective disarmament measures.

Hermann Axen Talks With Colombian CP Leader
AU2806121088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Jun 88 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Gilberto Vieira, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Colombian Communist Party, for a friendly talk on Friday [24 June]. He conveyed to the guest fraternal greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated by Gilberto Vieira.

The interlocutors conducted an exchange of views on basic issues concerning international development and on the policy of the two parties. They concurred that the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones has made an extraordinarily significant contribution to worldwide communication about the activation of the disarmament process. The SED and the Colombian Communist Party attach great significance to the further exchange of views on these questions. The meeting furnished convincing proof that nuclear-free zones represent one of the major paths toward strengthening peace and international security.

Hermann Axen briefed the Colombian visitor on the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. The general secretary of the fraternal Colombian party reported on the situation in his country, particularly on the efforts to defend democracy, the constitutional order, and human rights. Hermann Axen assured him of the solidarity and support of the GDR

Communists for all democratic and patriotic forces in Latin America, who are victims of the imperialist policy of intervention and reactionary despotism.

Both parties agreed to expand their close fraternal cooperation.

CC Releases Tract on 70th Anniversary of KPD

AU2206060188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 88 pp 3-8

["70 Years of Struggle for Socialism and Peace, for the Well-Being of the People; Theses of the SED Central Committee on the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the KPD; Resolution of the Sixth SED Central Committee Session, 9-10 June 1988"]

[Text] At the end of December 1988, the citizens of the GDR will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD. They will be paying tribute to the historic achievements of the German Communists on the threshold of a year during which our German worker-peasant state, the GDR, will be looking back over 40 years of successful development. These two outstanding events are closely linked with each other in our people's lives.

Forty years of the GDR: This means the creative implementation of the revolutionary program which was drafted 7 decades ago by the founders of the KPD.

The path of the German Communists, which was characterized by great successes but also by bitter defeats, was determined by the struggle for the interests of the working people, peace, and the victory of socialism on German soil. Building on the indestructible foundations that were created by the party of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, and Walter Ulbricht, the workers' class and all working people of our country, under the leadership of the SED, brought about the most fundamental change in the history of our people. In the GDR, a politically stable, economically efficient German state developed, recognized worldwide, in which the principle of doing everything for the well-being of the people and for peace is the prime necessity. It is fraternally allied with the Soviet Union and an inseparable part of the socialist community.

Erich Honecker stated: "What the Spartacus fighters risked their lives for 70 years ago, what the antifascist resistance fighters made immense sacrifices for in the night of Hitler's tyranny, is becoming a reality in our worker-peasant state. In the history of our party of Thaelmann, we find living examples of heroic deeds of steadfast Communist revolutionaries. Their courage and their willingness to make sacrifices, their determination and their close alliance with the CPSU and the land of Lenin and with other fraternal parties laid the foundation for socialism in our country." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker: "We are realizing our party's general line, aimed at the well-being of the people, with the people and for the people." From the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the meeting of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, in Berlin on 12 February 1988, p 101)

By shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and by consistently struggling for peace and friendship between the peoples, the working people of the GDR, under the leadership of the SED, which was created in 1946 by merging the KPD and SPD, are filling the imperishable heritage of the KPD with life, day in and day out, in harmony with all the great revolutionary democratic and humanistic traditions of German history, and are carrying it into the future through the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress.

I. [Roman one] The Founding and the First Test in the Fire of the November Revolution [subhead]

1. On 30 November 1918, in the banquet hall of the Prussian House of Deputies in Berlin, the delegates of the Spartacus League decided to found the KPD. Thus, they adopted the proposal of Karl Liebknecht, who had suggested: "If we part today, a new party must have been founded...a party that represents the interests of the proletariat in a determined and consistent manner, a party with a solid and coherent spirit and will, a party with a clear program, a party that has chosen the target and the means to achieve the target with clear determination...(in which) the means have been selected in accordance with the interests of the revolution..." (Footnote 2) (Protocol of the founding party congress of the KPD—30 December 1918 to 1 January 1919, Berlin 1985, pp 80-81) The International Communists of Germany—another group of leftists within the German workers' movement—announced the merger with the KPD. Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Hermann Duncker, Kaete Duncker, Hugo Eberlein, Paul Frohlich, Leo Jogiches, Paul Lange, Paul Levi, Ernst Meyer, Wilhelm Pieck, and August Thalheimer were elected to leading positions.

The constituting of the KPD was a decision of historic significance. It was the result of the struggle of the German left. Since the turn of the century, the best and most clear-sighted forces of the German workers' movement and of our people had waged the most determined struggle against German imperialism and militarism and had fought the spread of opportunism in German Social Democracy. When the aggressive imperialist forces unleashed World War I in 1914, the leadership of German Social Democracy, in breach of the Second International Conference, approved the war loans, and sided with "its" bourgeoisie, thus dividing the workers' movement. The German left, however, despite persecution and defamation, under the slogan "The Main Enemy is in Our Own Country!" held up the banner of

the consistent struggle against the imperialist war. Those who struggled in the most determined manner against genocide and for an end to the killing, and who worked for the revolutionary downfall of those who implemented the policy of aggression and war, created the KPD.

The Great October Socialist Revolution exerted a far-reaching influence on the founding of the party. The revolutionary workers' and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by V.I. Lenin, opened the door to the building of the socialist society in 1917 with the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners, and by setting up the rule of the workers and peasants in one-sixth of the world. A new world-historical era had been ushered in, the era of the struggle for "the liberation of the peoples from imperialism, for the elimination of war among the peoples, for the overthrow of the rule of capital, for socialism." (Footnote 3) (V.I. Lenin: "Speech During the Unveiling of the Plaque for the Fighters of the October Revolution, 7 November 1918" in "Works," Vol 28, p 162) The coming into being of the first socialist state on earth shook up the power of capital and gave hope to mankind for a future in peace, freedom, and social protection, and provided a powerful boost to the revolutionary movement on an international scale, and particularly in Germany.

The KPD was created in the fire of the November revolution. With the proclamation of the free socialist Democratic Republic of Germany on 9 November, Karl Liebknecht pointed out the historic task of this revolution. The small group of the German left worked as a forward-pushing force amid the fighting workers and soldiers and, together with other revolutionaries, advocated the training and work of the workers' and soldiers' councils as the fighting and driving organs of the people. Their most influential group started to organize itself in a more solid form in the Spartacus League. In their first assault the masses forced the termination of the hated war, they swept away the monarchist regime, shook the rule of German imperialism, and fought for democratic and social rights such as had never before been granted in German history. The SPD leadership was against revolutionary changes, supported the imperialist forces in their actions against the determined revolutionaries, and pursued a policy aimed at democratic and social reforms within the framework of the existing bourgeois order. The centrist-dominated leadership of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USDP), which formed in 1917 out of the social democratic opposition against the imperialist war and which joined forces with the Spartacus group, while preserving its political and ideological independence, pursued a policy of half-hearted efforts and vacillations, and adopted the position of the SPD leadership on decisive issues. The Spartacus members, however, together with other leftist forces, including the USPD, tried to consolidate the revolutionary achievements and to bring about a transition from the anti-imperialist people's revolution to a socialist revolution. But it became clear that its militant spirit and its selfless struggle for the cause of the people could not replace the missing revolutionary party of the workers' class.

The experiences gained in the struggle and the example of the party of Lenin promoted the clarification process in the Spartacus League and helped it to overcome temporary mistakes and to realize that separation from the USDP was imperative. With the founding of the KPD, the best representatives of the German proletariat drew the conclusion that the proletariat can fulfill its historic mission—to overthrow the capitalist order, to set up the worker-peasant power, and to build socialist society—only under the leadership of a revolutionary militant party that is deeply rooted among the masses, and that this required a complete, including an organizational, breach with all varieties of opportunism.

2. The KDP was founded as the party of the workers' class, the class whose liberation would free the whole of society, once and for all, from exploitation and oppression. In reference to the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the program of the party which was drafted by Rosa Luxemburg characterized the party as the part of the proletariat that is aware of the goals, "that points out the historic task to the broad mass of workers in every step they take, that works toward the final goal of socialism during every single stage of the revolution," (Footnote 4) (Protocol of the founding party congress, page 294) and that approaches all national issues in accordance with the interests of the international revolutionary movement. The KPD furnished proof that exploitation, misery, and war are inherent in the capitalist social system, and that only socialism is in a position to grant the working people the basic human rights, such as the right to live in peace, the right to work and to a dignified existence, real freedom, and the creative development of the personality.

Socialism was described as the social system in which the power lies in the hands of the workers and peasants, in which the most important means of production are the property of society, in which exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, and in which the following principle is the prime necessity: "A dignified existence for everybody who fulfills his duty toward society." (Footnote 5) (Ibid, p 287) The implementation of socialism was described as the most powerful task that has ever been assigned to a class and a revolution. The program pointed out the high level of responsibility on the part of the people's masses and the workers' class that is linked with this task and the demands regarding their creativity and commitment: The workers must learn "to become free, thinking, autonomous leaders of this process. They must acquire a sense of responsibility as acting members of the community as a whole, which is the sole owner of all social wealth." (Footnote 6) (Ibid, p 289)

The KPD described the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the precondition for the implementation of socialism. In basically dealing with the opportunist rejection of the class structure of every democracy and with the overestimation of every bourgeois democracy, it stressed that the state power of the proletariat embodies a qualitatively higher form of democracy: "To entrust the concentrated mass of people with the entire political power for the tasks of the revolution—this is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus true democracy. True democracy is not to be found where wage slaves sit next to capitalists and where rural proletarians sit next to Junkers in false equality, discussing vital issues in a parliamentarian manner. Only where the mass of proletarians, comprising millions of workers, seizes the entire state power with its horny fist in order to smash it—as the God Thor did with his hammer—on the heads of the ruling classes, is there democracy that does not betray the people." (Footnote 7) (Ibid, p 291)

The founders of the KPD were aware that, if the capitalist system of exploitation, which uses the instruments of bourgeois democracy, continues to exist, it is impossible for the workers' class to attain socialism. For this purpose, it is necessary to eliminate private capitalist ownership of the means of production, to smash the state apparatus of the exploiting class, and to create qualitatively new state power on this basis under the leadership of the workers' class, under which the rights of the people are not only declared but where real foundations exist and under which socialist democracy develops.

At the founding party congress, the first bases were developed for the policy of alliance, particularly with small peasants, and proposals for school and university reforms were submitted. There were differing standpoints on some of the issues that were up for discussion at the party congress, such as the participation in elections for a bourgeois parliament, work within the trade unions, and democratic centralism in the development of the party. Mistakes were made and the KPD was not yet in a position to provide Marxist-Leninist answers.

3. The KPD—loyal to its origin—gave a clear answer to a question that deeply moved many people, the question of how new predatory wars can be prevented and how peace can be safeguarded. The party program stated that after World War II the bourgeois society had forefeited its right to exist. A tremendous amount of means of production had been destroyed, "millions of working people, the best and most efficient species of the workers' class, had been slaughtered." Socialism, on the other hand, was in a position to provide work and food for everyone, to put an end to the mutual destruction of the peoples, and it "can bring peace, freedom, and true culture to tormented mankind." (Footnote 8) (Ibid, p 287)

From the very beginning, the KPD, in the spirit of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, viewed the social liberation of the workers' class and its allies, and the ultimate liberation of mankind from the scourge of war, as tasks that are indivisibly linked. Rosa Luxemburg stressed that the Communists "must defend both the interests of world peace and socialism and the interests of the revolution." (Footnote 9) (Ibid, p 198) With the establishment of the KPD, a force came into being that struggled in the most consistent manner against imperialist war and for peace in Germany.

4. The young party unconditionally advocated proletarian internationalism. It was in favor of the immediate establishment of relations with the foreign fraternal parties, because the struggle for the socialist revolution and for peace had to be waged jointly. The KPD was created as part of an international movement, whose development was decisively influenced by Lenin's fight against war.

A Communist party had been established in a large imperialist country with a workers' movement that has rich traditions. Following the shaping and strengthening of the Bolshevik party and its victorious struggle, this represented another important precondition for the founding of the Communist International, which took place in March 1919. "When the 'Spartacus League' ...assumed the name of KPD, the founding of a truly proletarian, a truly internationalist, and a truly revolutionary Third International, the Communist International, had become a fact," (Footnote 10) ("V.I. Lenin: Letter to the Workers of Europe and America" in "Works," Vol 28, p 442) V.I. Lenin stated.

Shortly after the decision to constitute the party, a delegation from the Soviet state and the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) addressed the delegates of the founding party congress. A unanimous decision was adopted to send a greetings telegram to the Russian Republic of Councils. The KPD confirmed the fraternal alliance with which its leaders had stood at the side of the Soviet power in Russia immediately following the October Revolution. They were aware that the strengthening of this, the strongest international bulwark of peace, democracy, and socialism, was in the interest of all progressive and peace-loving forces and had become the central issue of proletarian internationalism. Karl Liebknecht praised the Soviet Republic as "the first powerful achievement of the proletariat in reaching the ultimate socialist target." (Footnote 11) (Protocol of the founding congress) In accordance with Rosa Luxemburg's proposal, the party congress condemned the anti-Soviet intervention of German militarists against the Soviet power. Thus, the founding of the KPD was characterized by fraternal alliance with the Soviet country and its Communist party.

5. Immediately after its founding, the KPD was severely tested. The Communists led the struggle to defend the achievements of the revolution and to develop them up to the socialist revolution. Between January and April 1919 the working people displayed their determination to radically change the existing social conditions to

conform to the interests of the workers, through large-scale strikes, mass demonstrations, armed uprisings against counterrevolutionary attempts, and the establishment of council governments in Bremen and Bavaria. The imperialist counterrevolution replied with increased attacks and brutal terror to the founding of the KPD and its revolutionary actions. Anticommunism and anti-Bolshevism became the basic concepts of reactionary policy and ideology. Voluntary corps financed by monopolies and the state power provoked armed hostilities and waged an organized war against the revolutionaries. Right-wing SPD leaders, who held important positions within the government and the state apparatus, collaborated with reactionary military circles and participated in the bloody suppression of the revolutionary workers.

To deprive the masses of leadership, the counterrevolutionaries assassinated Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and other leading KPD officials. Like them, thousands of revolutionary workers fell victim to the barbarian terror. The revolution was stifled, and the working class and its allies suffered a severe defeat. But the Communist Party continued to exist, it survived in spite of the ban and the persecution, in spite of the arrest and the killing of many of its best and most steadfast members. It succeeded in consolidating its ranks in the spring of 1919, and in forming basic organizations and the first bezirk party leaderships in nearly all large towns and many villages. By the middle of 1919, the KPD numbered some tens of thousands of members. This had only become possible because of the selfless commitment of the functionaries and party members, and because many class-conscious workers realized that the KPD had made the cause of the workers and the other working people its own cause in a determined and consistent manner.

6. The founding of the KPD represented a turning point in the history of the German workers' movement and for our people. The German workers' class was again equipped with a revolutionary vanguard with clear Marxist principles, a party that took up the traditions of the Communist League and the revolutionary social democracy of August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, preserved them, and continued them under different circumstances. The creation of the KPD reflected the fact that revolutionary workers' parties are systematically emerging during the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism—parties of a new type, the first of which was the party of the Bolsheviks.

In Germany there was now also a party that showed the workers' class the way of the struggle against imperialism, militarism, and war, for peace, democracy, and socialism, and that forged and organized the forces for this struggle. The KPD embodied the future toward which Germany also was moving, despite fierce resistance from the financial capitalists, Junkers, and militarists. Through its work for the daily interests of the working people and the future-oriented interests of the German people, and for socialism, the KPD became the forward-pushing force of German history in the new world-historic epoch.

The constituting of the KPD following the decisive break with opportunism, its unconditional support for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the scientific concept of socialism and proletarian internationalism, demonstrated that a decisive step had been taken toward acquiring the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

At the time, the KPD was only at the beginning of its development. However, the foundations that had been created by the founding congress proved to be indestructible in all the subsequent class struggles, and the decision adopted by it turned out to be irreversible.

II. [Roman two] As a Revolutionary Mass Party in the Class Struggles of the Weimar Republic [subhead]

7. The KPD proved itself under the conditions of the Weimar Republic as a reliable vanguard of the German workers' class, as steadfast fighters of the working people for social progress, democracy, and peace, and for the national interests of the German people, for socialism. At a time when the Great October Socialist Revolution provided new dynamics worldwide to social progress, and exerted a strong influence on social life in Germany, when class struggle took on a highly contradictory development and underwent rapid changes, the KPD always adopted a consistent position on all issues concerning politics, society, and ideology, a communist standpoint that was characterized by the interests of the working classes alone. Following the failure of social democracy during the world war and the revolution, and in view of the fact that its leadership sided with big capital and fought against the revolutionary restructuring of society, the Communists assumed the responsibility to fulfill the historic mission of the workers' class in Germany as well. They acted in accordance with this responsibility.

In the wake of the defeat of German imperialism in the world war and in the November Revolution, imperialist Germany assumed a major role in the international class struggle. Counterrevolutionary terror in the spring of 1919 did not succeed in breaking the revolutionary potential of the workers' class and in stifling their efforts to bring about political freedom and socialism. But both nationally and internationally, progress was facing a strong, dangerous, and aggressive opponent.

The November Revolution had given rise to the bourgeois-parliamentarian Weimar Republic, the emergence of which constituted significant political progress. The dedicated struggle of the revolutionary workers had made it possible for the working classes and strata in this republic to enjoy more social and democratic rights and be granted more political freedom than in the empire or any other imperialist state. But, as a result of the defeat of the revolution, political power remained in the hands

of financial capital. The economy was dominated by the large banks and industrial monopolies; the Reich Army, the police, and the judiciary protected the class rule of the bourgeoisie; the reactionary forces held important positions within the administrative bureaucracy. Numerous parties and organizations worked for financial capital and the Junker system. Anticommunism and revanchism prevailed in politics and ideology. The conditions of power and exploitation in the Weimar state thwarted all efforts to secure for the workers' class and the other working classes the influence in society that they deserve. At the same time, these conditions represented a constant danger to what had been achieved during the November Revolution.

As a revolutionary party, the KPD vigorously defended the democratic achievements and constitutional principles, social concerns, and political freedom of the masses against the reactionary state organs, and fought in the most consistent manner against all attempts of the ruling class to undermine and destroy this republic. In 1921 Clara Zetkin stated in the Reichstag that, despite the fact that the republic itself could not be the goal and the fulfillment of the proletarian struggle, the workers' class and its revolutionary party was determined "to defend the republic, as a stage of political progress, against its enemies, and protect it ..." (Footnote 12) (Clara Zetkin: Against the "Law for the Protection of the Republic," 1 October 1921, in "Selected Speeches and Writings," Vol 2, selection from the years 1918-23, Berlin 1960, p 336)

As an internationalist party, the KPD, through its struggle against the reactionary class rule of German financial capital and against the pressure of world imperialism, vigorously advocated the interests of the people and struggled for freedom and the future of the German nation. It was the only German party that resolutely rejected the Versailles Peace Treaty and its tyrannical reparation regulations, without making the slightest concessions to the nationalism and revanchism of the German haute bourgeoisie.

The Communists proved themselves in 1920 by suppressing the Kapp coup, thus undertaking the most efficient concerted action by the workers' class in the Weimar Republic. In the same year they were among the leaders of the "Hands off Soviet Russia!" movement. In 1921 the German Communists proved their steadfastness in the struggle against the provocation by the police in central Germany. In 1922-23 they organized the defense of the fundamental vital rights of the masses against the attacks of big capital, and tried to jointly ward off terrorist acts by the enemies of the republic and the first attacks of the fascists, and separatist activities. In 1923 they struggled against the imperialist occupation of the Ruhr area, which was provoked by German big capital; they led the strike movement that toppled the most reactionary government of the Weimar Republic to date, and the Hamburg uprising. After German imperialism had succeeded in stabilizing its power with the aid of financial capital—primarily that of the United States—in the middle of the twenties, the KPD countered the advancing monarchist-militarist reaction and the increasing exploitation of the workers' class through capitalist rationalization, the dismantling of the 8-hour work day, and other measures. It took the initiative to launch the people's movement aimed at expropriating the houses of princes in 1926. In tough parliamentary and extraparliamentary struggles, it defended the people's rights against the reactionary social policy of the citizens' block governments [buergerblockregierungen]. The KPD's action in 1927 and 1928 against the introduction of open fleet armament and battle cruiser construction, its support for the Chinese revolution, and its propagandization of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, also aroused strong response in pacifist circles.

The KPD showed the way to the historical alternative to capitalist exploitation, imperialist oppression, and militarist preparation for the war; it was determined to fight for the worker-peasant state and to establish a socialist Germany. It propagandized this alternative when dealing with anticommunist calumny against the liberation struggle of the workers' class, with the reactionary misuse of the word socialism, and with illusions about its preconditions. It turned out to be a difficult task to probe the way to socialism under the novel conditions in Germany and in view of repeated decisive changes in the situation of the class struggle, to find methods and steps for leading the workers' class and other sections of the working population toward the struggle for power. In this, the KPD started from the universal regularity of the proletarian revolution, but it had to search for solutions that took into consideration the social balance of power, national characteristics, the attitude and traditions of the classes and political parties in the country, and it had to react to the fluctuating policy of the ruling class. During these years it did not succeed in providing final answers to all questions concerning the dialectics of the struggle for democracy and socialism, the link between the ultimate target, partial strategic goals, and daily political tasks, the interrelationship between reform and revolution, between the defense of bourgeois democracy and the struggle for the political power of the workers' class.

The KPD faced up to the political, intellectual, and moral challenges that were linked with the rise of socialism; the stormy developments in science, technology and communications; the fundamental changes in the lives of the people; and the threat posed by imperialism and the imperialist war. It replied to the questions that emerged in a revolutionary manner. It was the modern party of Germany in the first half of the 20th century.

8. Great challenges were posed to the fighting strength of the KPD by the task of leading the German people to the struggle for liberation from imperialist rule, to give rise to the hope for peace, and to defend humanism and democracy. The party had to proceed along a path of hard struggles and bitter experiences in order to gain maturity, clarity, and coherence, and to obtain the alliance with the masses that was demanded by this

great, historic task. Its internal growth was brought about by victories and defeats. It was not possible to avoid political mistakes and conflicts within the party, particularly in view of the fact that the party was so young and in view of the complicated situation concerning the struggle and the pressure from the class enemy. The German Communists tackled the task that was described by Lenin: "... to patiently build a strong and wise Communist party that is capable of really leading the masses during each and every turn of events; to work out a strategy that is capable of challenging the best international strategy of the 'most enlightened' bourgeoisie (owing to the centuries of experience in general and particularly the 'Russian experience')..." (Footnote 13) (V.I. Lenin: "Letter to the German Communists" in "Works," Vol 32, pp 538-39)

At the end of 1920, the left wing of the USPD and the KPD merged. Thus, tens of thousands of revolutionary workers, including such tested workers functionaries as Franz Dahlem, Wilhelm Koenen, Hermann Remmele, Walter Stoecker, and Ernst Thaelmann, strengthened the ranks of the Communists. The KPD became a real mass party.

The tough conflicts with bourgeois ideology, in the struggle against practicalistic [praktizistisch] lack of understanding and radicalistic [radikalistisch] wishful thinking, the KPD gained the insight that—beyond Marxism-Leninism—there can be no revolutionary practice without serious theoretical and ideological work. In a fruitful learning process, in the struggle against the class enemy, and in conflicts with the petit-bourgeois anarchist, ultra-leftist, and right-wing opportunistic forces, it gained the insight that the new type of party had to be a solid, disciplined militant alliance of like-minded persons. It defended the unity and cohesion of its ranks against all efforts to transform the rigidly-structured organization—which the workers' class needed for its struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism—into a mere discussion club.

The most important step in the KPD's development was the formation of the Central Committee by Thaelmann in 1925. The shaping of a stable Marxist-Leninist leadership out of experienced functionaries of the workers' class, which had close links with the class, was the result of a far-reaching process of internal growth. At the same time, it was the precondition for the party to be able to establish increasingly close links with the masses and to further develop its policy in a purposeful manner. In the person of Ernst Thaelmann, a Communist became party leader, who developed into the most important leading personality of the KPD. At his side, during the following years politicians from the workers' class, such as Conrad Blenkle, Franz Dahlem, Philipp Dengel, Hugo Eberlein, Arthur Ewert, Leo Flieg, Wilhelm Florin, Ottomar Geschke, Fritz Heckert, Wilhlem Koenen, Paul Merker, Ernst Meyer, Heinz Neumann, Helene Overlach, Hermann Remmele, John Schehr, Ernst Schneller, Hermann Schubert, Fritz Schulte, Walter Stoecker, Walter Ulbricht, Jean Winterich, and Clara Zetkin, in leading positions of the Central Committee, secured the steady development of the party on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

Under the leadership of Thaelmann's Central Committee, the German Communists answered the question of the ideological, theoretical, political, and organizational nature of their party in the Marxist-Leninist spirit. In this they made use of the experiences of the first victorious proletarian party, the party of Lenin. Enforcing democratic centralism and Lenin's norms and principles of organization consolidated the party and raised its militant strength. Collectivity of leadership at all levels and democracy within the party were developed.

It was one of the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of the KPD that a party member is obliged to participate in the shaping of and responsibility for the party's policy, that each organization and each party leadership implements and further develops the party's policy with its initiatives, and that party decisions are collectively prepared and are binding for all. In this spirit, the party educated thousands and thousands of proletarian cadres, and hundreds of thousands of workers matured into hardened fighters. Loyalty to the class and to the idea of its liberation, indomitability toward the rule of exploitation and its effects on man, willingness to change the world, and readiness to tirelessly serve the interests of the working people, to be responsible for great things, and to master detailed work—this characterized Thaelmann's guard. The Communists represented the revolt of the working masses, who no longer wanted to bear their oppressed, unfree position in the society of exploitation. They helped many German working people to understand that the capitalist system will never grant them their human rights, that they have to struggle again and again for their immediate and future interests.

In spite of the spiteful baiting campaign and the persecution by those who had seen their power sway in November 1918 and whose privileges the KPD started to struggle against, in spite of all opposition, setbacks, and sacrifices, the KPD was a party of optimism and confidence in its victory. The view of life of its members and friends was characterized by revolutionary activity, readiness for action, militant spirit, reliability, courage, and by the efforts to bring to bear the basic principles of the future socialist society in their behavior, such as collective spirit, mutual respect, comradeship, and solidarity. The highest demands were placed on the steadfastness of the Communists in line with Ernst Thaelmann's appeal: "No Communist must leave the post he has been assigned by the party; even under the harshest conditions of struggle, we have to fulfill our revolutionary duties without deviations." (Footnote 14) (Ernst Thaelmann: "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party" in "Protocol of the Negotiations of the 12th KPD Congress—Section of the Communist International—Berlin-Wedding, 9-16 June 1929," Berlin, without year, pages 100-101) They acted in the unshakable conviction that the future will belong to socialism.

The KPD became the strongest Communist party in the capitalist world, a consolidated militant alliance, which was firmly rooted in the class through the work of the Communists and a network of mass organizations under its influence.

9. The KPD had chosen the interests of the working people as its guideline. It acted in line with Ernst Thaelmann's word: "The KPD does not know any party interests beside the class interest of the worker." (Footnote 15) (Ernst Thaelmann: "Forge the Red Unity Front! Fight With Us for Your Demands!" in "The Red Flag," Berlin, No 219 of 29 November 1931) During the years of the Weimar Republic it developed into a true party of the people. It led millions of people to conscious political activity.

The KPD unerringly struggled against capitalist exploitation in any form, and stood up for the social rights and democratic demands of the working people. Wherever they were able to, the Communists pursued this struggle: in the enterprises and in the trade unions, in parliaments and in the streets, in cooperatives, and in villages. The KPD passionately struggled for the 8-hour workday and the wage interests of the workers' class, for the rights of the trade unions and the shop stewards, against unemployment and its effects, against all attacks of big capital. It worked for better sick and unemployment insurance, for sufficient unemployment benefits, effective protection against accidents, and material safeguards for old people. It demanded a tax, customs, and price policy in line with the needs of the working people. The KPD developed outstanding initiatives in the field of social struggle in housing policy. It demanded a more just distribution of housing space, the construction of modern, healthy apartments for workers, an end to exorbitant rents, and it submitted proposals for the reconstruction of old residential quarters and for humane urban construction. It consistently committed itself to promoting working, learning, studying, and sports among young people. It demanded better development opportunities for the children of workers and peasants, including material safeguards for their access to universities. It struggled for the full political and social equality of women, for the implementation of the principle "Equal wages for equal work!" With determination it advocated the improvement of protection for mothers and children and women's right to medically safe abortion. With a great sense of responsibility, it kept in mind the health interests of the broadest strata of people.

The KPD also looked after the interests of the allies of the workers' class. It defended the working peasants against the usury of the banks, against the price pressure of the monopolies, against tax and customs usury, and against an agricultural policy which was oriented toward the interests of the Junkers and the large land owners. It developed numerous initiatives to safeguard the existence of small traders, members of the free professions, small officials, and other groups of working people. This was the sociopolitical foundation of an alliance policy which was aimed at showing all other working classes and strata—at the side of the workers' class—a way to protect their immediate interests and progress toward their final liberation from the yoke of financial capital. The important experience was confirmed that, with its struggle, the workers' class is also defending the basic concerns of all other working classes and strata, and that it cannot win without being allied with them.

The party struggled for the democratic rights of the working people with all possible determination. With mass campaigns and in the various representative bodies and assemblies—from the Reichstag to the local tenants' organizations—it struggled against all antidemocratic advances of the reaction. It demanded the legal existence and opportunities of development for proletarian-revolutionary and other democratic organizations. The KPD supported those who were persecuted because of their revolutionary and democratic attitude and exposed the reactionary judiciary's practice of striking out at the left while protecting the rightist forces. Violent acts and violations of laws by the ruling circles were pilloried whenever the KPD learned about them.

It was the Communists' very own concern to emphatically work for the interests of the workers' class in the free trade unions. Many of them did responsible work as shop stewards and trade union functionaries. Because of the Communists' activities, proletarian mass organizations, such as the German Communist Youth Association (KJDV), the Communist Children's Movement, the Red Front Fighters' Alliance, the German section of the International Workers' Aid, the Red Aid of Germany, numerous sociopolitical and cultural organizations, and revolutionary workers' sports, developed.

The party realized early on that influence on the masses does not develop out of itself but has to be gained step by step, with patience and persistence. Life taught the KPD how indispensable the ability of the Communists is to convince other working people who are influenced by noncommunist traditions, habits, and values with their arguments, their example, and their readiness for businesslike talks and to win them over to joint actions.

Every day the KPD practiced in its policy the humaneness and social responsibility that characterized its program. It faced the demands of the working people's everyday life and carried out dedicated, detailed work to meet them. More and more working people started to trust this party. The KPD became the voice of the exploited and distressed, of the suffering and oppressed, and helped them to preserve their self-esteem by uniting in the joint struggle, and to reach the knowledge about their own strength.

10. One of the outstanding achievements of the KPD was its struggle for unity of action. Confronted with the splitting of the German workers' movement, which had been caused by the opportunist leaders of social democracy, and knowing that splitting weakens the workers'

class and uses up its strength, the KPD became the initiator of the policy of unity of action in Germany. This policy corresponded to the objective agreement of the basic interests of all parts of the workers' class in the conflict with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The next purpose of the policy of unity of action was to raise the ability of the workers' class to struggle and to increase the effect of its activities for its immediate interests, to repel the attacks of the most reactionary imperialist forces. In the long term, this policy was able to create conditions to thoroughly change the relations of political power for the benefit of the working people, of democracy, and of social progress.

The policy of unity of action posed a new task for all parts of the German workers' movement and provided great opportunities. During the years of the Weimar Republic, important results and lasting experiences were gained with the KPD's energy. In this spirit, the KPD's Open Letter of January 1921 to the SPD, the trade unions, and other proletarian parties and organizations, which was called exemplary by Lenin and enriched the experiences of the international Communist movement, constituted an important political achievement for the young party. Over the next few years, in the practical struggle for the daily demands of the working people and against political attacks by the reaction, the KPD repeatedly tried to achieve joint activities, in particular with Social Democrats. This is also demonstrated by the workers' governments that were formed in Saxony and Thuringia in 1923, which comprised Social Democrats and Communists. In the campaign for expropriation without compensation of the princes, it was possible to achieve—in addition to the unity of action of the workers' parties and organizations—cooperation with bourgeois democrats and progressive Christians. Subsequently, varied forms of joint action by Communists, Social Democrats, and nonparty working people, which were aimed at the struggle for the democratic and social rights of the workers' class, developed in enterprises and residential areas, in trade unions and village parliaments, in cooperatives, and in other proletarian organizations and representative bodies.

The policy of unity of action had to be developed in opposition to the strong resistance of imperialist forces, which knew very well that the splitting of the workers' movement serves their policy, that it even helps to secure their power. These imperialist forces struggled against the unity of action of the workers' class with political pressure, open provocations, anticommunist instigations, and, if necessary, by means of a coalition with Social Democratic leaders. Influential rightist Social Democratic forces, which were primarily aiming at a coalition with bourgeois parties, opposed the policy of unity of action. They were guided by narrow party egotism. Anticommunist motives determined their actions to a great extent. For these reasons as well as because of their opposition to mass struggles, they did not fully use the opportunity of a coordinated and uniform workers' movement, the great militant potential of their own party, of the trade unions led by them, and of the cultural, sports, and defense associations. Frequently they split the proletarian action community and workers' organizations. The rift between Social Democrats and Communists deepened when on 1 May 1929 in Berlin police suppressed the traditional May Day rally at the order of Social Democrats—the Prussian interior minister and the Berlin police president; they shot 33 workers and injured hundreds.

To fully develop the policy of unity of action, to realize and fully use their far-reaching historic opportunities and consequences, long periods and comprehensive practical experiences were required in view of such obstacles and resistance. This posed great demands on the principled attitude and flexibility of the KPD. In the tense class struggle the party had to learn to live up to these demands. For this purpose it was necessary to overcome the sectarian and dogmatic tendencies in its own ranks, which flared up again and again, in particular under the extremely tense conditions—for instance, the thesis of social fascism, which was spread in the Communist movement at the end of the 1920's and which was wrong from the very start. The Communists increasingly understood that the policy of unity of action—as it was designed from the beginning—always has to proceed from the premise that social democracy is an independent part of the workers' movement. They gained the experience that it is possible to look for joint concerns without blurring fundamental political or ideological differences, and to develop the unity of action, and that this is a task that presents itself anew again and again.

This struggle provided many lessons and insights which were important beyond the ranks of the KPD. In particular the insight that forces working for a decent society, for peace, humanity, and social progress have to approach each other anew again and again gains special weight for the further path. The KPD did much to establish this tradition in Germany and to preserve and develop it in the historical struggles that followed.

11. The KPD made a future-oriented contribution to the intellectual liberation of the German workers' class and helped humanist ideas and noble intellectual values gain importance in Germany. Of special historical importance was the KPD's acceptance of the revolutionary legacy of Marx and Engels and its thorough familiarization—in inseparable connection with this—with Lenin's work. This made that ideology the intellectual foundation of the party. This very foundation is the only one that was able to show the real route toward revolutionary restructuring of society. Lenin's words proved true in its work: "By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat that is capable of assuming power and of leading the entire people to socialism, of guiding and organizing the new system..." (Footnote 16) (V.I. Lenin: "State and Revolution: The Teachings of Marxism of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution" in "Works," Vol 25, p 416)

The intellectual new beginning, which started under the influence of the October Revolution and in the wake of the German November revolution, was most strongly expressed in the spreading of Marxism-Leninism in Germany by the KPD. Marxism-Leninism in the unity of its parts and as a creative theory, which continues to develop in steady interaction with the revolutionary practice, corresponded to the need for a progressive way of thinking which tackles the problems arising in social development and in class conflicts. The KPD made Marxism-Leninism assert itself far beyond the ranks of its members; it created various opportunities to familiarize oneself with it. It established a training system, ranging from member circles to the Reich Party School, from courses by the revolutionary mass organizations to the Marxist Workers' School. The Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg commemorative rallies, which were held in January, attained the power of a militant tradition, supported by tens of thousands of workers, from which they gained optimism and steadfastness and received Marxist-Leninist knowledge and cultural experiences. With the work of the revolutionary press, of the publishing companies, and the book distributors linked with it—in which Willi Muenzenberg gained particular merits—the KPD also helped millions of Germans to free themselves from intellectual patronage by the exploiters' class.

The KPD had to struggle against reactionary ideologies, which were spread in particular by schools and universities, by papers, cinemas, and radio, by bourgeois cultural events, parties, organizations, and associations. It defended the ideology of the workers' class against the attacks of its enemies and protected it from being weakened by narrow-minded ideas. It gave millions of German workers steadfastness toward chauvinism and revanchism, anticommunism, and racism.

The KPD's acquisition of Marxism-Leninism took place on the basis of the principled decisions of the founding party congress, during a longer process of enlightening arguments. This process was considerably promoted by the spreading of basic works by V. I. Lenin, such as "The State and Revolution," "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," and "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder." The application of the revolutionary theory and its further development under the specific conditions of the struggle in Germany proved a steady, recurring task of the German Communists. Of particular importance were their achievements in the fields of Lenin's teachings about the party, the theory of state, revolution, and imperialism, of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of war and peace, and of Communist alliance policy and work among the masses. The KPD affirmed its experience that Leninism is not a specifically Russian but an international theory that is fully applicable to the conditions in Germany. The party gained political creativity; it armed itself with revolutionary confidence in victory and with the ability of critical self-analysis.

The intellectual stimulus of the 1917-19 Revolution, the trailblazing political work of the KPD, and the revolutionary prospects shown by Marxism-Leninism lastingly influenced the development of a progressive way of thinking and a progressive culture in Germany. The KPD promoted the conveying of revolutionary arts and culture of the Soviet Union to the German people. Numerous humanist cultural workers came close to the workers' movement under these influences; the most progressive ones joined the revolutionary class struggle. In the Communist movement and at their side, talents from the workers' class developed into independent artistic creativity. In hard conflicts with reactionary cultural barbarism and bourgeois mass culture, permanent testimonies to a socialist German national culture were created, which in many fields—literature, graphic arts, music, film, and others—rose to achievements whose power outlasted the darkness of fascism and took its effects into the future.

The KPD's cultural policy was aimed at providing this development with new boosts and, at the same time, at enabling the workers' class to critically familiarize itself with the entire humanist heritage of national and international culture. The KPD rejected both the presumptuous neglect of the cultural heritage of past epochs and narrow-minded, reformist efforts to provide the workers with a boring wash of bourgeois culture.

12. The KPD proved its worth as the party of proletarian internationalism, of militant international solidarity, and consistent struggle for a world of peace and friendship among the peoples. It put up these positions against the nationalist policy and chauvinism of the ruling class in Germany and under the pressure of foreign imperialism, and thus represented the unity of proletarian patriotism and internationalism.

Of utmost political and moral weight was its relationship with the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, and the party of Lenin. "The USSR, this fortress besieged by warring imperialist robbers, is the strongest backbone of the class struggle of the world's proletariat, the iron abode of peace, the basis of world socialism," (Footnote 17) (Ernst Thaelmann: "Antifascist Action Against War Criminals," July 1932, in "On Proletarian Internationalism," speeches and articles, Leipzig 1977, pp 157-158) Ernst Thaelmann stressed. The KPD emphasized the historical pioneer work of the Soviet working people—in building socialism in their own country—for the progress of socialism throughout the world. From the advance of the USSR into new historical land, and from the manner in which the Soviet working people and the CPSU (Bolshevik) mastered difficulties and setbacks, they gained courage and confidence in their victory. They determinedly struggled against the anti-Soviet instigations.

As the German section, the KPD found strength and support in the work of the Communist International. The Communist International made a decisive contribution to forming the Communist world movement during

the decades after the Great October Socialist Revolution, to linking the international workers' movement with Marxism-Leninism, and to establishing and developing Marxist-Leninist parties which stood their test in the struggle against imperialism, fascism, and war. The Communist International provided the framework for generalizing the experiences of the international class struggle and for opening them up to the member parties. The KPD had a share in the achievements and lasting merits and also in the mistakes and missed chances of the Communist world movement.

With many initiatives and great reliability, the KPD worked for mutual internationalist solidarity. In many ways it received material and moral support from its class brothers, which raised its militant ability, in particular when it had to undergo hard tests, and was able to use the experiences of other sections of the international workers' class. It loyally supported all those who worked for a renewal of the world. It stood firmly at the side of all those who struggled on all continents for human rights, for their social and national liberation, and against imperialism and colonialism. It was a reliable ally to all those who were tortured and harassed by the international reaction because of their antifascist and humanist attitude. It was a matter of course for the KPD to support with all its strength the persecuted fighters and leaders of illegal parties and organizations from many countries who sought refuge in Germany.

Proletarian internationalism and international solidarity were among the inalienable elements of the KPD's political identity. Acting in accordance with them yielded high political, spiritual, and moral gains for the German workers' class and its allies.

13. Guided by its revolutionary conviction, the ideas of humaneness and responsibility to one's own people and to the other peoples, the KPD pursued the struggle against the danger of a new world war. It acted as the party of peace on German soil. The KPD recognized the special aggressiveness of German imperialism and was aware that it worked in a country which was of central importance to the question of safeguarding peace in Europe and in the world. Therefore, it uncompromisingly struggled against revanchism, against the expansionist urge of the ruling class, and against militarism. With all available means it opposed covert and open armament, and economic, political, ideological, and military preparation for a new war. It emphatically worked for a peaceful German foreign policy, for the establishment of good-neighborly relations between states, and for friendship among peoples.

The party's course of peace was characterized by consistency and passion. Where others concluded dangerous compromises with armament and preparation for war, the KPD exposed the motive forces of expansion and their true intentions. Where others had illusions, the KPD raised its warning voice and advocated the principle that the way must be barred to imperialist war before it erupts. Where others resigned or claimed that war was a fateful event, the party named the reasons for imperialist wars and tried to develop the struggle of the masses, which was the only thing that could give peace a chance.

The KPD considered it a central concern to enlighten the working masses about the aggressive military policy of German imperialism. It trained the revolutionary workers for proletarian defense, in the sober understanding that the imperialist haute bourgeoisie will not stop at any violence, if necessary, and in the readiness to struggle for their freedom with their arms in hand.

The antiwar struggle of the KPD gained much strength, important knowledge, and untiring militant courage from the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. With all available means and methods, the KPD supported the Soviet policy, which was aimed at safeguarding peace and at general disarmament. It advocated peaceful German-Soviet relations, in accordance with the spirit and contents of the Treaty of Rapallo. The German Communists considered the USSR as proof of what a socialist revolution can do for peace. The KPD propagated the new character of the socialist armed forces as the military protector of socialism and peace. It called on the German working people to protect the world's first socialist state against the military threat emanating from imperialism and against the anti-Soviet course of influential forces of German imperialism.

As early as the beginning of the twenties, the KPD gave a farsighted warning that the industrially highly-developed Germany was potentially one of the strongest war powers. During the election campaigns in spring 1932, the party provided an apt characterization of the question that was to gain vital importance for every German, for every family, and for the entire people. It said: "Those who vote for Hindenburg vote for Hitler; those who vote for Hitler—vote for war!"

Equipped with this knowledge, the KPD organized activities against the preparation of a new world war and looked for cooperation with others who rejected war for pacifist, bourgeois-humanist, or religious reasons. This gave rise to the first joint activities against the danger of imperialist war. The KPD was, however, not able to answer all the complicated questions touching upon the self-awareness and traditions of potential alliance partners in the struggle for peace and on the common issues and differences of those striving for peace. But it knew how valuable alliances were in the struggle for peace and tried to gather different forces for this.

14. The KPD had always uncompromisingly struggled against fascist efforts, views, and organizations. It established a political front against fascism when it raised its head at the beginning of the twenties, and even at that time it saw through its imperialist class system and its role as the storming party of the reaction. When, at the end of the twenties, fascism became an acute danger in

Germany, it warned at the first signs against the imminent reactionary change of state power. Already in 1929-30 it drew attention to the fact that the most reactionary and aggressive circles of financial capital, whose influence on state and society had considerably grown, were starting an attack on the people's rights and were treading the path of gradually destroying the Weimar Republic and replacing this bourgeois-parliamentary state with a fascist dictatorship. Thus, the KPD exposed the strategic aim pursued by German imperialism, which had gained strength in the years before: correcting the results of World War I by means of a second world war, and attaining world supremacy. Destroying the workers' movement as the decisive obstacle to the realization of these plans and suppressing all democratic stirrings and all resistance against a wild foreign and armament policy were to establish the internal preconditions for this.

At the same time, the KPD pilloried the efforts of monopolistic capital to saddle the working masses with the burden of the capitalist economic crisis, which had had an effect on Germany since the end of 1929 and, over the next few years, led to an unprecedented production decline, disastrous unemployment, and mass ruin of the existence of petit-bourgeois people and peasants. It mobilized workers, employees, and small civil servants, working peasants, small businessmen, and members of the free professions, men, women, and young people to defend their elementary rights to work, food, clothes, and housing. It helped the millions of unemployed, who were particularly affected in this crisis, in their misery. The Communists tried to organize the struggle against the relentless pressure of monopolistic capital, against an economic policy which used the crisis for radical social cuts and thus exacerbated and prolonged it. They led strikes, organized activities of the unemployed, supported people who had been thrown out of their houses and peasants who where to be driven from their farms. In its peasants' aid program, its reemployument plan, in social programs for other groups of the population, and in numerous parliamentary motions, the KPD articulated the demands of the working people and thus set specific goals for the struggle against the attack of the capitalist and fascist threats.

The KPD analyzed the particularities of the route to fascism in Germany. It realized that it was because of the strength of the workers' movement that the forces pushing ahead to fascism did not risk a coup d'etat but proceeded step by step and gradually escalated the policy of fascistization. It realized that these forces both counted on the Nazi Party and other reactionary parties and associations and also used the state organs of power, which were occupied by confidants of financial capital and the Junker system, to fascistize the country. This course was supported by increasing parts of the ruling class; it was protected by the Reich Army and actively supported by its generals. Most bourgeois-democratic politicians failed in view of the threat and gave up the bourgeois-parliamentary republic without any struggle. Even the still very influential leaders of the SPD and the free trade unions did not guide the willingness to struggle of Social Democrats and trade union members, but retreated step by step from the attacks of the fascists and their forerunners.

The KPD proceeded from the premise that one has to nip things in the bud. Therefore it sounded the alarm against any advance of the monopolistic capital and struggled against any measure to restrict democratic rights and to hinder the antifascist activities of the workers' movement. The KPD protested against the banning of proletarian organizations, against police tyranny, and against a judicial practice that favored fascism and criminalized resistance against its terror. It defended the sovereignty of parliamentary institutions against the presidential dictatorship, which was based on the special rights of the Reich president and increasinglly reigned with "emergency orders," deprived the Reichstag of its legislative rights, and made parliamentary control over the government practically impossible. It struggled against the Nazi Party long before this party achieved a spectacular election victory in autumn 1930. In its 1930 program statement on the national and social liberation of the German people and in other documents, the KPD exposed the Hitlerite fascists as dangerous deceivers of the people, whose program and policy were aimed at making the servitude of the working people permanent and at sacrificing national concerns to a wild policy of aggression. In the mass assemblies and in the press of the KPD the struggle against the fascist ideology was implacably pursued, in particular against its main elements of chauvinism, anticommunism, anti-Semitism, and social demagogy. The KPD also organized the resistance of the masses against the fascist gangs of terrorists, the SA and the SS, to protect workers' quarters and trade union houses, to safeguard demonstrations, and to defend the lives of the antifascists. Many Communists and people close to the party became victims of fascist terror and police tyranny already during the Weimar Republic.

Proceeding from the insight: "The struggle against fascism must be pursued as a political struggle of the masses on the broadest possible basis," (Footnote 18) ("Resolution on the struggle against fascism," adopted by the Central Committee Politburo at the session of 4 June 1930, in "The Red Flag," Berlin, No 137 of 15 June 1930) the KPD developed and tested varied forms and methods of developing antifascist mass initiatives and of giving them more and more effect. In the persistent efforts to unite the workers' class in averting the fascist danger and to establish a broad antifascist front, the party gradually overcame simplified ideas that Social Democratic and Christian workers could be won over to unity of action without approaching their organizations and leaders. To an increasingly visible degree it put their common goal into the foreground of actions.

The constant struggle of the KPD against advancing fascism and for work, bread, and freedom, its call for joint actions gradually gained effect and raised the

party's authority. Within 3 years the number of party members tripled, to about 360,000 Communists; the number of KPD voters at the Reichstag elections in November 1932 amounted to almost 6 million and had thus doubled compared with 1928. At the 1932 elections for Reichstag president, the Communist Thaelmann—the representative of antifascism and peace—opposed the representatives of the course toward fascism and war. The party led by Ernst Thaelmann, John Schehr, Walter Ulbricht, Wilhelm Pieck, and Wilhelm Florin developed its profile as the leading antifascist force of the German people. It issued calls for joint struggle to other workers' organizations. It proposed to the leaderships of the social democracy and the free trade unions to jointly ward off with a general strike the coup d'etat of July 1932 which aimed at eliminating the Prussian Government headed by Social Democrats. It also took initiatives for cooperation with bourgeois forces, including the Center Party. The KPD's efforts for a broad front of antifascist struggle reached their strongest effect in the antifascist action in summer 1932. This established the party as a comprehensive collective movement of all antifascists who were willing to fight, regardless of their affiliation with an organization and their ideology. This movement was joined by a great number of Social Democrats and Christian and nonparty antifascists. Ernst Thaelmann's meeting with 20 Social Democratic functionaries in July 1932, where they discussed how a united antifascist front could be established, met with a great response. The antifascist action also met with sympathetic feelings and support from members of the bourgeoisie with humanist attitudes. It thwarted the attempts to suppress the workers' movement with the terror of the SA and the SS, stopped the growth of the Nazi Party's influence among the voters, and finally started to push it back.

Under these circumstances, the forces of financial capital that strove toward fascism did everything to enforce their absolutely wild plans that were hostile to the people. The struggle led by the KPD against the deadly danger which fascism represented to the democratic rights, to peace, and to social progress, was not able to prevent the establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany at the beginning of 1933. The German workers' class was defeated—split up and prevented from fully developing its powers by the policy of Social Democratic leaders—by an opponent whose forces cooperated and who had superior means of exercising power. These included the Reich Army, whose leadership immediately backed the Hitler government.

But the struggle of the KPD and of those who worked with it had not been without effect. It made the establishment of the fascist tyranny more difficult, delayed it, and prevented the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship over a demoralized workers' class that retreated without struggle. In this struggle, cadres developed that secured the continuity of the revolutionary workers' movement and of antifascist struggle after the defeat of 1933. This struggle provided them and many workers and other working people with ideological steadfastness and morale in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The German antifascist tradition was founded on it: If the KPD had had its say, there would never have been a fascist Germany.

III. [Roman three] In the Illegal Struggle Against Fascist Dictatorship and War [subhead]

15. When the Hitler government was formed, the KPD immediately reacted with the call for a general strike of the workers' class. Only the unified, powerful action of Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and Christian and nonparty workers would have had the chance to overcome the fascist tyranny, which had not yet been consolidated. But the responsible leaders of the SPD and the free trade unions still rejected any struggle outside the parliament. Illusions with regard to the prospects of the fascist regime and deeply rooted anticommunism characterized their attitude. Local demonstrations and strikes were not able to halt the advance of fascist dictatorship.

The establishment of fascist dictatorship created a totally new situation for the German people, and thus also for the work of the KPD. Fascism represented the naked dictatorship of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of German monopolistic capital. From the very beginning, they set a course toward preparing a war to conquer the world; the plans to destroy the Soviet Union occupied a central place in this. The unrestrained instigations and terror of fascism were directed against the workers' movement and all democratic forces and against the Jewish citizens. All proletarian parties and organizations were banned or pushed into illegality; the traditional bourgeois parties disappeared from the political scene. Manslaughter and murder, prisons, and concentration camps became the characteristics of a terrorist regime that was unique in the world in its scope and in its hostility to man. What the German Communists had warned against and what they had tried to prevent with all their strength and with great sacrifices became bitter reality.

From the very beginning the fascists directed the main attack of their terror campaign against the KPD. Braggingly they announced that in Germany communism would be torn up with its roots and be eradicated forever. Anticommunism was raised to state doctrine.

Outlawed and subject to the unbounded tyranny of the oppressive organs of the state and of the terror gangs of the Nazi Party, the KPD turned toward the underground. Never before in the history of the revolutionary workers' movement, had such a large party, whose members and functionaries were well known not only to the masses but also to the political police, had to adjust its organization to the conditions of illegal struggle. But for Communists, members of the KJVD and other revolutionary organizations, and numerous sympathizers it was a matter of course—even under the changed, incredibly complicated conditions—to continue the

struggle against fascist German imperialism and against its policy that led to war. This was required by their responsibility to the German people and to the peoples of the world.

Already during the first weeks and months of the tyranny the party suffered great losses. On 3 March 1933 Ernst Thaelmann fell into the hands of the fascist rulers. John Schehr, who led the struggles of the German Communists afterwards and organized the establishment of the illegal party, fell into the hands of the Gestapo in November 1933 and was treacherously assassinated soon afterwards. The victims of the first years of fascist dictatorship included Erich Baron, Helene Glatzer, Sepp Goetz, Christian Heuck, Fritz Lux, Ernst Putz, Eugen Schoenhaar, Karl Schulz, Fiete Schulze, and Franz Stenzer.

In spite of the fact that the fascists murdered numerous party cadres, that they arrested others, and smashed illegal leaderships and organizations, other Communists assumed their positions, formed groups, founded new illegal party organizations and resistance groups, and led their struggle. Many of these party cadres emerged from the illegal KJVD. The KPD preserved its good organization and its leadership by the Central Committee in a variety of forms, thus becoming the most active and efficient force in the German antifacist resistance struggle.

The courageous attitude of the Bulgarian Communist and excellent functionary of the Communist International, Georgi Dimitrov, at the Reich Court in Leipzig, had a strong impact. Unmasking the fascists as the ones who were responsible for the burning of the Reichstag at the end of February 1933, he vigorously explained the targets of the Communists and called for concerted actions of all antifascist forces. This strengthened the courage and the confidence of the German Communists and of the other antifacists.

16. To preserve the German people from a long rule of terror and a devastating war, and to secure its future, the KPD tried from the very beginning to bring about a joining of the antifascist forces. It considered the workers' class to be the driving force of antifascist resistance. In continuing its policy that it had developed in the struggle against threatening fascism, it was above all trying to win over the Social Democrats for the joint struggle. The Communists became increasingly aware of the antifacist potentials of the Social Democrats, which were not allowed to unfold because of the anti-Unity Front policy of the Social Democratic leadership. The calls of the KPD Central Committee, of numerous bezirk leaderships, a personal appeal by Ernst Thaelmann, and the activities of party organizations were directed toward the formation of the Unity Front.

The Communists became increasingly aware of the fact that the German workers' class had suffered a severe defeat through the establishment and consolidation of the fascist dictatorship. Under the leadership of its Central Committee, the party tried to fully comprehend the changes in the situation of the class struggle and to draw the necessary conclusions for the further development of its strategy and tactics. During the process of the struggle, during sometimes painful conflicts within the party, it learned and gradually overcame views, methods, and forms of the struggle that no longer corresponded to the new situation and that had turned out to be basically sectarian and wrong. It attentively followed the process of development among the German Social Democrats that was characterized by a return to the revolutionary traditions of the social democracy, by a revival of Marxist thinking, and by discussions about ways that lead toward the Unity Front. The experiences of the 1934-35 struggles in the Saar area and the conclusion of some Unity Front agreements on the bezirk level proved that a new type of relations between Communists and Social Democrats were possible.

Under the conditions of the increasing persecutions by the Gestapo, the KPD Central Committee had to gradually transfer its headquarters to foreign countries as early as in 1933, and led the illegal party first from Paris and later from Moscow. At the beginning, an illegal national leadership operated on its orders. When the Gestapo succeeded in smashing this leadership in 1935, an operative leadership and the Central Committee Secretariat, which was newly formed in 1937, were entrusted with the direct leadership of the illegal party from abroad. To support the illegal struggle, the KPD Central Committee, with the help of fraternal parties, created a network of bases in Germany's neighboring countries and established section leaderships that secured the links between the Central Committee and the illegal party organizations during the prewar period, that produced antifascist literature and smuggled it into Germany, and that accomplished many other tasks to promote the illegal struggle. All activities of some ten thousand German Communists who operated in exile were directed toward supporting the party's illegal struggle in Germany.

17. The antifascist struggle in Germany received strong stimuli from the Brussels conference of the KPD in October 1935. The conference evaluated the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, which had convened in July-August 1935 and ushered in a new era of productive thinking and creative acting. It released forces among the Communists which enabled them to master complicated practical political problems in the most varied situations. On the basis of fundamental ideas of Lenin and the rich experiences of the international Communist movement, the congress faced up to the new requirements of the struggle against fascism and war and provided future-oriented replies to questions concerning the significance of the struggle for democracy and socialism, various possibilities of realizing socialism, and the necessity of having intermediate goals, and regarding the Unity Front and a broad antifascist policy of alliance among the Communists. It

demonstrated that the danger of war had considerably increased through the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, and that for this reason the struggle for peace had to be moved to the center of the Communist parties' activities.

The Brussels party conference incorporated the findings and ideas of the Seventh World Congress. It was there that the delegates of the illegally struggling party took important future-oriented decisions. All the stipulations were characterized by the goal of bringing about the overthrow of fascist German imperialism by the German people itself and safeguarding peace by overcoming this main warmonger. The party was aware of the fact that it was facing a period of strenuous work during which it was important to further organize its own forces, to create antifascist awareness among the majority of the population in spite of all the big obstacles, and to promote their willingness to participate in the struggle against the Nazi regime and to overthrow it. The Brussels conference strongly rejected elements of the wishful thinking, of dogmatism, and sectarianism, which had temporarily impeded the further development of the party's policy, and called on everyone to adopt a realistic approach to the objective and subjective conditions of the class struggle. In a self-critical manner, the party commented on mistakes concerning its strategy and tactics, such as the long adherence to the orientation toward the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate militant target and the somewhat undifferentiated approach toward social democracy. It irrevocably rejected the thesis of social fascism as false and harmful.

The Congress provided new answers to basic issues concerning the strategy and tactics of the German Communists. In this, it made use of the rich treasure of experiences from the time before the fascist dictatorship was set up and continued the creative process of development that had already started under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann on a higher level. The conference advocated a policy that was true to its principles and flexible at the same time, in order to establish the Unity Front with social democracy, which had to take into consideration the changes and processes of development in this part of the workers' movement since 1933, and supported the formation of uniform free trade unions. The KPD viewed the lasting cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in the struggle against fascism as the way toward creating the unity of the German workers' movement on a revolutionary basis. The Brussels conference adopted the policy designed to set up an antifascist German people's front, which was aimed at uniting all opponents of Hitler—irrespective of their social standing, their political position, or their ideology—in a joint struggle. The goal was a free, democratic, and peaceful Germany. The Brussels conference drafted the first programmatic proposals for this. The Central Committee, elected by the conference, named Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Franz Dahlem, Wilhelm Florin, Fritz Heckert, Paul Merker, and Walter Ulbricht as members, and Anton Ackermann and Herbert Wehner as candidate members of the Politburo. Wilhelm Pieck was elected chairman for the duration of Ernst Thaelmann's imprisonment.

18. The main front of the KPD's antifascist struggle was Germany, where the Communists resisted in many spheres and in a variety of forms. The Communists fought against the tremendous superiority of the fascist state apparatus and the Nazi Party, against the vast potential that the Nazi Party used to ideologically manipulate the population, against economic corruption of certain sectors of the population by the regime, and against spying and denouncing practices, and tried to mobilize other opponents of Hitler.

The Communists countered the ideological contamination of large parts of the German people through anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, revanchism, chauvinism, and anti-Semitism, with oral propaganda, fliers, pamphlets, and other illegal publications which were produced at home and abroad. The Communists unmasked the war activities of German imperialism and struggled against the foreign policy of the Hitler regime, which was characterized by the striving for world supremacy. They also supported and propagandized the Soviet initiatives for a system of collective security in Europe. Wherever possible, they impeded war production and the military construction projects of the Nazi regime. They carried out antifascist information work in fascist mass organizations and the Army. Communists supported the activities of those Christian circles that opposed the fascist church policy. As the first force within the German resistance, the KPD resolutely rejected the anti-Jewish "Nuremberg Laws" of the Nazis. They provided active solidarity for the Jewish citizens who were persecuted, and they vehemently condemned the facists' anti-Jewish pogrom of November 1938. Making use of radio stations in the Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic, the KPD uncovered the crimes the Hitler regime had committed toward the German people. Communist artists supported their party's struggle through their specific forms of expression.

Also in prisons and concentration camps, illegal groups and organizations of the party formed. The goal of their struggle was primarily to resist the terror of the guards, to lift the spirits of the imprisoned, and to save the lives of as many people as possible, to familiarize the prisoners with the political situation, and to explain the development of the party's policy to them.

After Franco had launched a coup against the Spanish Republic with the military support of Germany and Italy, Communist and Social Democratic workers, and nonparty members uncovered the participation of the "Condor Legion" as well as the German arms and materiel supplies to the counterrevolution in Spain. Until the beginning of 1939, some 5,000 German antifascists—mostly Communists—went to Spain on the

initiative of the KPD Central Committee. They fought with their arms against fascism in the ranks of the International Brigades. Some 3,000 German antifascists lost their lives in this struggle, including Artur Becker, Hans Beimler, and Franz Cehlow.

In the illegal struggle, in prisons and concentration camps, in the International Brigades, and in the countries of exile, trusting cooperation between German Communists and Social Democrats started to grow. In Germany itself, and above all in several countries of exile, working circles, commissions and committees of German antifascists sprang up, which worked to establish the antifascist German people's front. Some of these unions already showed features of a people's front. Lasting cooperation between the Communists and important German writers, artists, and scientists developed and was based on the joint humanist responsibility for the struggle against fascist barbarism, for peace and progress. The important leaders of social democracy, who lived in exile, continued to stick to their anticommunist position and also rejected any kind of cooperation with the KPD in the antifascist struggle in the following years.

In their tough struggle against the main enemy of the people, Hitlerite fascism, the KPD received internationalist support from the Communist parties of many countries. They provided material and ideological support to the German Communists and other antifascists and helped them to secure life in exile and to overcome the difficulties which the antifascists exiled in capitalist countries were facing in their political work. Fraternal parties promoted the KPD's work to produce antifascist literature and to illegally transport it back to Germany, and secured the work of leading KPD organs and their links with the illegal organizations.

Particularly strong support for the KPD's illegal work was provided by the CPSU(B), the Soviet Government, and the working people of the USSR. The Soviet Union, for example, made it possible for a decade for the Central Committee to politically lead the illegal party in Germany and the exiled party organizations in many countries of the world. It was the center of the international solidarity movement for Ernst Thaelmann and all antifascists who were persecuted and imprisoned by the Nazi regime.

In the second half of the thirties, German Communists were also affected by illegal and unjustified reprisal actions in the Soviet Union. Through these actions, which were totally in contradiction to the nature of socialism, the KPD lost tested members and functionaries who were loyal to the workers' class and the party, including Hugo Eberlein, Leo Flieg, Felix Halle, Werner Hirsch, Hans Kippenberger, Willy Leow, Heinz Neumann, Hermann Remmele, Hermann Schubert, and Fritz Schulte. Following the 20th CPSU Congress and the revelation of all circumstances, the SED restored party membership and party honor to the German Communists who had suffered from the reprisals.

In the struggle against fascist German imperialism, the KPD and the party of Lenin cooperated on an internationalist level. The KPD voiced passionate protest against Italy's attack on Ethiopia (then Abyssinia) in 1935, against the occupation of Austria in 1938, the Munich plot in 1938, and the gradual smashing of the CSSR by Hitler's Germany in 1938 and 1939. Together with the fraternal parties, it advocated the restoration of the sovereignty of the occupied countries and the freedom of the peoples subjugated by fascism.

19. At the beginning of 1939, the international situation had exacerbated to such a degree that the KPD conference in Bern at the end of January/beginning of February adopted the view that a world war could be unleashed overnight by the Hitler regime. The KPD described it as the natural duty of the German Communists to do everything possible to avert the disaster of a world war.

More clearly than ever before, the conference stressed the deep divisions between the interests of the warmongering forces of German fascist imperialism and the interests of the German nation. Therefore it was the greatest national deed to overthrow the traitor and the corrupter of the nation—fascism and trust capital. If German imperialism should succeed in unleashing a war, than it was in the interest of the German people to struggle for the defeat of fascism at the side of the peoples that were attacked. Thus, the Bern conference moved the struggle to preserve peace even more emphatically to the center of the party's policy, and the demand was expressed that everything else be subordinated to this goal. It was more necessary than ever before to unite the various groups within the antifascist opposition in a broad people's movement. The conference saw possibilities that in the joint struggle of Communists and Social Democrats the preconditions for the creation of a uniform revolutionary mass party of the German workers' class would emerge.

The fact that in their resolution at the Bern conference the Communists expressed specific ideas regarding the goal of the joint antifascist struggle and that they submitted the program for a new democratic republic, was also of fundamental importance: "Contrary to the Weimar Republic, the new democratic republic...will radically eradicate fascism, deprive it of its material basis by expropriating the fascist trust capital and, again contrary to the Weimar Republic, find reliable defenders of democratic freedoms and of democratic people's rights in the Army, the police, and the administrative apparatus. Contrary to the Weimar Republic, in the new democratic republic it will not be possible for the haute bourgeoisie, under the cover of a coalition with the workers' party, to direct its economic and political attacks against the people, but the unified workers' class, united in the people's front together with the peasants,

the middle class, and the intelligentsia, will determine the fate of the country." (Footnote 19) ("Documents on the History of the SED," Vol 1, 1847 to 1945, Berlin 1983, p 343)

20. With the treacherous attack on Poland in September 1939, fascist German imperialism extended its annexations, thus triggering World War II; this was followed in 1940 and the spring of 1941 by the fascist aggression against Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, France, Greece, and Yugoslavia. In the countries they had occupied, the German fascists set up an inhuman occupation regime. They started a brutal policy of extermination against entire peoples. The KPD condemned all these acts of war as renewed attempts by German imperialism to establish its rule over Europe and large parts of the world. At an early stage the German Communists had already predicted that this would be the most terrible of all wars that would reduce German towns and villages to heaps of rubble, that would take the lives of millions of German men, women, and children, and would end with the defeat of Hitler's Germany.

At no time did the KPD forget that the fascists adhered to their goal that they repeatedly announced—to destroy the Soviet Union, thus turning back the wheel of history. For this reason, during the prewar years the German Communists had opposed the policy of influential forces of the imperialist Western powers which was conducive to these efforts and the Munich Agreement which favored the fascist aggressors. They emphatically spoke in favor of the collective security system which was supported by the Soviet Union and designed to counter the danger of war that emanated from Hitler's Germany. For the same reason, after the failure of the military negotiations between the USSR, Great Britain, and France, the KPD had supported the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. The KPD viewed it as the attempt of the Soviet Union to prevent a looming imperialist unity front against the only socialist state on the globe, to keep the Soviet Union out of the impending war, and to improve the USSR's defense capability in anticipation of a German-fascist attack. This position of the party, which was spread by pamphlets and radio broadcasts, helped to overcome insecurities that also occurred among Communists in view of this situation and to strengthen the conviction that the Soviet Union's step was necessary and correct. When fascist German imperialism, in breach of the Nonaggression Pact, attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the KPD unmasked this aggression as the worst crime toward the first socialist state, toward mankind, and the German people itself. A KPD call contained the following passage: "It is our own cause that is being successfully defended by the Red Army. Our enemy is in our own country: The fascist lansquenets of the big capitalists, the war profiteers are our enemies! The joint victory of the Red Army and the oppressed people who fought for their freedom will also be the victory of our German people!" (Footnote 20) ("Document on the History of the SED," Vol 2, 1945-71, Berlin 1986, p 12)

21. For the German Communists and their allies, from the first day of the war the fight against fascist dictatorship was indivisibly linked with the struggle to put an end to genocide. Under the complicated conditions of war, which in Germany itself appeared as an escalation of fascist-chauvinist manipulation, terror, and murder, the KPD unabatedly continued its resistance. It merged with the just struggle of the antifascist resistance and liberation movements of many countries in Europe; it developed into an important part of the emerging anit-Hitler coalition of the peoples and states. The antifascist Germans opposed the mass murder and genocide which were carried out by German fascists, the shooting of hostages and deportations, the plundering and subjugation of other peoples.

For the Communists, Germany remained the decisive front of their antifascist resistance at all times. The groups of KPD members in enterprises, towns, and villages that continued to exist in many areas or were newly founded represented the organizational system that was needed for an efficient and varied antifascist resistance.

The national leaderships, which were newly formed several times after members had been arrested, repeatedly undertook great efforts to maintain or reestablish contact with the KPD Central Committee in Moscow. Members of these national leaderships were: Bernhard Baestlein, Arthur Emmerlich, Franz Jacob, Wilhelm Knoechel, Alfred Kowalke, Theodor Neubauer, Anton Saefkow, Georg Schumann, Martin Schwantes, Kurt Steffelbauer, and Rober Uhrig—steadfast Communists, who fell in the antifascist struggle. The KPD Central Committee in Moscow on its part made use of the "German People's Transmitter" operating from USSR territory and received help from fraternal parties to convey uniform basic guidelines and information to the party organizations. The same purpose was served by sending Central Committee representatives who parachuted into Germany. The party's political unity was also demonstrated by the fact that thousands of communists, who had only temporary or no connection with organizations or leaderships, acted on their own in line with the basic KPD concepts aimed against fascism and war.

In the struggle against the fascist predatory war, Communists increasingly joined Social Democrats, trade unionists, Christians, and Jews. Men and women of the workers' class, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the military united in the resistance against Hitler; this front penetrated all classes and strata of the German people. No matter how different the motives and goals of their actions were in detail, they were linked by the common will to overthrow the fascist regime, to stop its criminal war, and to thus secure the existence and future of the German people.

United in resistance groups or larger illegal organizations, they used many forms of struggle: oral and written antifascist propaganda, damage to the fascist war

machinery by sabotaging especially the armament industry, solidarity with prisoners of war, forced laborers and prisoners from concentration camps and prisons who had been forced to work in industry, scouting for the states of the anti-Hitler coalition, and armed struggle.

The fascist terror organs brutally persecuted the antifascist fighters. Victims of the fascist terror were, among others, Herbert Blochwitz, Arthur Emmerlich, Hanno Guenther, Wilhelm Guddorf, Rudolf Hallmeyer, Arvid Harnack, Heinz Kapelle, Georg Lechleiter, Kaethe Niederkirchner, Magnus Poser, Kurt Schlosser, Harro Schulze-Boysen, John Sieg, and Franz Zielasko.

The heroic and sacrificial struggle of the Soviet people and their Red Army also inspired the scope and strength of the antifascist resistance in Germany. The victories of the Soviet Army at the German-Soviet front at Moscow, Stalingrad, and Kursk, which was decisive for the war, raised the courage of the German Communists and their fellow-fighters and their conviction that their just cause would triumph in the end.

In the hell of fascist concentration camps and prisons, functionaries and members of the KPD did purposeful and organized political work. Behind bars and barbed wires, the solidarity of the people tortured there saved the lives of innumerable men, women, and children. Often sacrificing their own lives, German Communists, Social Democrats, and other antifascists—and with them many foreign fellow-fighters—opposed the mass murder of Jews, prisoners of war, and other deported people in concentration and extermination camps.

The Communists represented the most active force in the resistance. Their leading role originated in their organization and political awareness, in their experiences gained in difficult class conflicts, and in their tireless and fearless work. Many of them stood their test as clever organizers and promoters of a comprehensive antifascist front. In the course of the war, they learned increasingly better ways to link the political concepts of Hitler opponents of different ideologies with the goals propagated by the KPD, and to put the common issues into the center.

As a result of this intensive struggle of the Communists to unite all those who were willing to struggle against fascism and war, the "Free Germany" movement had been gradually developing since 1942. The KPD Central Committee took the initiative to form a "Free Germany" National Committee (NKFD). In July 1943 it was able to constitute itself on Soviet territory thanks to comprehensive help by the leadership of the CPSU (Bolshevik) and the Soviet Government. Founded by exiled antifascists and prisoners of war, it comprised Hitler opponents from almost all classes and strata of the German people.

The members of the KPD national leadership made great efforts to develop this movement in Germany. Their efforts to achieve cooperation with the opponents of the Hitler regime extended even into circles of the aristocracy, the military, and the haute bourgeoisie, which had slipped into opposition to Hitler's clique. The KPD emphatically supported the patriots who wanted overthrow the Hitler regime with the action of 20 July 1944.

The movement represented by the NKFD spread to more than 30 countries in Europe, America, and Asia—countries where German antifascists lived in exile. It developed into the broadest alliance of German patriots to date, in which the ideas of a comprehensive popular German front was realized under the conditions of war.

German antifascists—in particular Communists and Social Democrats—fought in the ranks of the Red Army, in Soviet partisan groups, and in the Armies of Great Britain, France, and the United States. Hundreds of them actively worked in antifascist resistance and liberation movements of the peoples of Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and the CSSR. With antifascist fliers, but also with spoken words, they addressed the members of the fascist occupation troops. Many of them risked their lives as partisans or scouts in the fascist hinterland. In several countries they helped with the antifascist reeducation of German prisoners of war.

In China, Great Britain, Mexico, Palestine, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, and other countries, for instance in Latin America, German emigrants used all available opportunities to actively contribute to the success of the antifascist struggle.

22. In the course of the war the KPD Central Committee repeatedly expressed the hope that there would be larger resistance campaigns in Germany and that the German people would thus effectively contribute with their own strength to the destruction of fascism and to the struggle for peace. But this hope was not fulfilled.

The clearer the military defeat of the fascist German imperialism became, the clearer it became that the Hitlerite fascists would leave a totally destroyed country with indescribable misery, chaos, hunger, and homelessness. What the German Communists had struggled to spare the German people from became bitter reality. It was obvious from the decisions of the main countries of the anti-Hitler coalition—the USSR, Great Britain, and the United States—that Germany would be occupied and that allied authorities would exercise supreme power. Planned border changes and the resettlement of millions of Germans from other countries were also part of the new conditions to which the KPD and its allies had to adjust.

While the Communists continued the antifascist resistance, they detailed their ideas about the reconstruction after the destruction of Hitlerite fascism, in line with the changed conditions. In the KPD Central Committee in Moscow, in the party's exile organizations, and in the leading bodies in Germany, basic concepts about the necessary route toward the building of a unified antifascist German state were worked out.

23. In autumn 1944, the war in Europe returned to its starting point—Hitler's Germany. The Red Army and its allies crossed the German borders. This started the liberation of the German people from fascism. During this last stage of the war, in many parts of Germany, party and resistance organizations or individual Communists, often together with other antifascists, opposed the policy of destruction pursued by the fascists, who now used the "tactics of scorched earth," which they had applied in other countries, also in German towns and villages. Numerous men and women, who had stood aside before, now joined the resistance front. Frequently they risked their lives to save factories, supply facilities, and transportation routes from destruction and to hand over towns without a fight.

Faced with their own downfall, the fascists killed tens of thousands of steadfast Communists in concentration camps, execution sites, and during death marches till the last day, including experienced functionaries of the German and international workers' movement, together with other antifascists and Hitler opponents. On 18 August 1944, KPD Chairman Ernst Thaelmann fell victim to this killing. After more than 11 years of solitary confinement, SS henchmen treacherously shot him in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Cadres steeled in Thaelmann's party, such as Ernst Grube, Albert Kuntz, Ernst Schneller, and Mathias Thesen, were murdered by the fascists.

Those Communists, Social Democrats, and other antifascists, who had tried to end the war as quickly as possible, took over responsibility in the recently liberated towns in order to secure elementary bases of the people's lives. They paved the way in saving the German people from the worst disaster of their history, which had been caused by fascism, and showing them the path to the future.

The KPD stood the most severe test of its history honorably and without breaking. Those who had embarked on the crusade against Communism had been smashed, but the KPD lived. It was the only party in Germany that had struggled in unity and cohesion—during the entire 12 years of Hitler's dictatorship—against fascism and war and for a new, antifascist-democratic Germany. Its courageous, altruistic actions, together with antifascist men and women from all classes and strata, spared the German people being identified by other peoples with fascism and its crimes and proved that there was another Germany, an antifascist Germany which was committed to the humanist and progressive efforts and to the revolutionary traditions of our people.

The KPD had to pay a heavy toll in lives. Tens of thousands of Communists were murdered. More than half of its members were arrested and imprisoned. But its struggle and its sacrifices were not in vain. Although deprived of many of its most tested leaders and functionaries and considerably weakened in terms of numbers, at the end of World War II the German workers' class had a Marxist-Leninist party with great experience and steeled cadres, with clear programmatic ideas on the ways and goals of the revolutionary workers' movement. It was authorized to lead the German people on the new way because of its unerring work against Germany's destroyers.

IV. [Roman four] For Change in German History [subhead]

24. The victory of the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition over the fascist aggressors brought liberation from fascism to the German people. The KPD, the German party that had been most brutally persecuted by the Nazi rulers, was one of the victors over fascism. The party, which had done everything to avert fascism and war, now unhesitatingly faced the incredibly difficult task of leading the German people out of the disaster caused by fascist German imperialism. Having always been confronted with the ruling imperialist state power since its founding, the KPD now was faced with the new challenge to lead the working people in the new shaping of their lives as the "party responsible for reconstruction."

The KPD accepted this responsibility in a world where the relations of power had thoroughly changed. The Soviet Union had been able to increase very much its influence on international politics. A new wave of social revolution gripped the European and the Asian continents. The successes of the national and anticolonial liberation movement heralded the final collapse of the imperialist colonial system. The international Communist movement and other leftist forces had gained considerable strength. In many countries Communists and Social Democrats worked together.

The legal KPD party organizations which now started to constitute themselves, united the Communists who had been liberated from concentration camps and prisons or emerged from illegality with the comrades who returned from exile. A great influx of new members started. The KPD was the first German party to be fully ready for action after the destruction of fascism. In each of the four occupation zones which were formed at that time, Communists were among the "activists of the first hour," among those men and women who started work immediately to tackle the tasks that were most urgent for

the survival of our people: the struggle against hunger, epidemics, and homelessness, the revival of production sites, and the preservation of cultural assets.

With the Central Committee appeal of 11 June 1945, the KPD presented the concepts for the anti-fascist democratic reconstruction, which had matured in long work and corresponded to the real situation in the liberated Germany that was bleeding from thousands of wounds. It exposed the reasons of fascism and war to the German people. It set the next great goal, the "establishment of an antifascist, democratic regime, a parliamentary-democratic republic with all democratic rights and freedoms for the people." (Footnote 21) ("Documents on the History of the SED," Vol 2, 1945-71, Berlin 1986, p 12) It submitted a specific program of actions, which was based on the immediate daily interests of the working people and simultaneously outlined the basic social changes necessary to eliminate fascism, militarism, and imperialism. It presented this program of actions for discussion as a platform for the cooperation of all antifascist-democratic parties and organizations. With this appeal, which gave evidence of the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the conditions in Germany and of a thorough application of one's own and international experiences, the KPD proved its increased maturity and its appointment as the leading power of the antifascist-democratic changes on the historical agenda, with which the way was to be paved for socialism on German soil.

The KPD was firmly determined to do everything so as to never again permit fascism and war to start in Germany. The profound crisis into which German imperialism had been cast by the destruction of its fascist dictatorship, by its unprecedented military defeat, and the failure of its barbaric plans for world hegemony, and the downfall of the German Reich, which had always been ruled by reactionary and expansionist circles, had to be used to advantage in order to eradicate any roots of fascism and imperialist German war policy: armament capital, the Junker system, and militarism, the old apparatus of power, which had served as an instrument of aggression toward other countries and as a instrument of oppression at home. The KPD opposed, with the revolutionary ideals of the workers' class, the ideology of chauvinism, revanchism, anticommunism, racism, and antihumanism, with which the population had been brought around to fascism and war.

25. Drawing the lessons from the class struggles since the November Revolution, the KPD appealed: "Put an end to the splitting of the working people!" (Footnote 22) (Ibid p 10) It started the initiative to establish uniform free trade unions and to establish an action committee with the Social Democratic Party. After the SPD Central Executive Committee had expounded conclusions in its appeal of 15 June 1945 which concurred with those of the KPD in many ways, both workers' parties concluded an action agreement. They committed themselves to cooperating in the antifascist-democratic restructuring, in order to jointly clear up basic questions of the workers' movement and thus prepare a united workers' party. This initiative that was started in Berlin and which provided guidelines for the party organizations of the KPD and SPD in the Soviet occupation zone and also to Communists and Social Democrats in the centers of the workers' movement in the Western zones, was something totally new in the history of the German workers' movement.

Quick and lasting success was achieved by the working people in those places where German Communists, Social Democrats, and other antifascists worked together and were supported by an occupation power that acted in line with the goals of the anti-Hitler coalition and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism—in the Soviet occupation zone. Here working people accepted the responsibility for the establishment of new administrative bodies. Here the democratic land reform was started and the foundation for the alliance of the workers' class with the working peasants was laid. Here the working people secured for themselves the right to codetermination in production facilities. Here they turned the enterprises of Nazis and war criminals into the people's property. Here the building of a new democratic school system, a democratic judiciary, and a new cultural life was started. The policy of antifascist-democratic renewal pursued by the KPD and the Social Democrats linked with it in unity of action was in full accordance with the Potsdam agreement, in which the allied powers had committed themselves to demilitarizing, de-Nazifying, and democratizing Germany in order to establish guarantees for a secure peace in the center of Europe.

The KPD advocated an alliance of all antifascist-democratic forces, whereby it was able to proceed in particular from the experience it gained in the people's front policy and the "Free Germany" movement. In agreement with the SPD, it laid the foundation stone for the bloc of antifascist-democratic parties and for unified antifascist-democratic mass organizations of the youth, women, and cultural workers. Securing peace, eliminating the remnants of fascism, and the new construction of the homeland required joint actions. The KPD called on the other parties to lead—together with itself—the people out of hardship and misery and to jointly introduce a historical change. Already at that time it expressed the hope that this alliance, which had been concluded at a most difficult time, would be a lasting one. Over the first years this alliance had to master many conflicts and had to stand several trials. But all progressive forces united more and more closely around the workers' class that played its leading role in an increasingly successful way.

26. In autumn 1945 the KPD drew the following conclusion from the encouraging successes of the unity of action on the one hand, the escalation of the conflict on the international and national level, the advances of reactionary politicians, and from the attacks by opponents of the unity of the workers' movement on the

other: The preparation of the unification of the KPD and the SPD into a revolutionary socialist party of the workers' class had become a priority task.

The KPD was the motive force in the process of rapprochement between the KPD and the SPD, which was supported by a strong mass movement. It provided the essential stimuli for working out the basic programmatic, political, ideological, and organizational positions of the united party of the workers' class and the decisive impulses for the constantly higher development of the movement for unity. In this movement, the Communists were joined by hundreds of thousands of Social Democrats who, with their experiences, made an independent contribution to the uniting of the two workers' parties and to the development of the character of the united party as is rooted in its program and statute. The experiences of Communists and Social Democrats flowed together in implementing antifascist-democratic reforms, in the work of the new democratic administrative bodies, in local politics, in the socialist education work, and in building antifascist-democratic mass organizations. On the testing site of social practice, the guidelines gained from the application of Marxism-Leninism again proved to be correct. They stood their test in the harsh conflict with the imperialist reaction and with the rightist Social Democratic leaders who tried by all means, in particular from the Western zones and West Berlin, to prevent a unification of Communists and Social Democrats. Communists and class-minded Social Democrats came together more closely in repelling such anticommunist attacks and in the resulting great learning process.

In April 1946 the SED was founded. The unification party congress decided on the principles and goals of the SED and elected Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl as party chairmen. The 620,000 KPD members and 680,000 SPD members united in the SED were joined by other hundreds of thousands of working people within a few months, who organized themselves in the united party of the workers' class. SED party organizations also developed in the Western sectors. But under the pressure of the imperialist occupation powers and under the influence of the forces that were hostile to unity, only a part of the Social Democrats joined these party organizations.

The unity of the workers' class under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard—a goal the KPD had pursued since its founding—was finally achieved in what today is the GDR. The struggle of the KPD is being continued in the SED, its traditions live on, linked with the best legacies of German social democracy and enriched with new experiences and achievements, which have been gained by the united party of the workers' class. Thus, a social force developed that was able to open up a completely new chapter of German history, to realize the goals of the antifascist struggle, and to lead the working people forever on the path of peace, democracy, socialism, and implemented human rights.

On the 15th and last KPD Congress Wilhelm Pieck clearly outlined what the KPD contributed to the SED and what the basic direction of its struggle had been. This "basic direction consisted, first, in the struggle against imperialism and militarism, for peace, understanding among people, and friendship with the Soviet Union; second, in the struggle against reaction, and for democracy which guarantees the working masses' decisive influence on the state's domestic and foreign policy with the aim of realizing socialism; third, in the struggle to conquer the majority of the workers' class and establish their unity and their alliance with the peasantry, in order to thus create the conditions for the victory over all reactionary forces; fourth, in the struggle for the constant improvement of the standard of living and the working conditions of the working people, in the struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital magnates and big landowners." (Footnote 23) (Ibid, p 26) This basic line, which oriented itself toward the interests of the working people, contained lasting and future-oriented elements. At the same time, it corresponded to experiences which had also been gained by many Social Democrats.

From the ranks of the KPD came many cadres who had been tested in hard struggles, who played a great part in the fact that the SED followed a revolutionary course, that its members familiarized themselves with Marxism-Leninism to an increasingly better degree, and that the unity party internationally assumed its place at the side of the Communist and workers' parties and carried into the future the great tradition of the fraternal alliance with the party of Lenin. Together with the fighters for the unity of the workers' class from the ranks of the SPD, they shaped the political profile of the SED.

27. In 1945 the KPD had set out to lead the entire German people on the path of peace, democracy, and socialism and to establish the new antifascist-democratic, peace-loving German republic as a unified state of the working people. It started work as a unified organization that was divided into party districts, regardless of the borders of the occupation zones, and it was guided by the Central Committee. It adjusted to the different conditions of struggle, but worked for the same goals everywhere. But the KPD also knew about the projects to dismember Germany which had already been developed during World War II by the planning staffs of the imperialist powers. It recognized the potential dangers of the dismemberment of Germany that were inherent in its division into zones. It immediately sounded the alarm when imperialist reaction reemerged in the Western zones and separatist and particularist ambitions started to stir.

Thus, the struggle of the KPD and the class-minded Social Democrats for the revolutionary unity party of the workers' class was also aimed at all of Germany. In this spirit, the unification party congress in Berlin considered itself an example and an encouragement to all German workers who pushed toward unity. It appealed to them to

oppose the restoration of imperialist rule and to oppose the policy of tearing Germany into two parts by using the power of a class acting in a uniform way.

However, the efforts to unite the workers' parties, which had had the first hope-inspiring results in the Western zones, were unsuccessful in view of the massive resistance of the imperialist occupation powers and the anticommunist forces in the bourgeois camp and in social democracy. Therefore, the Communists and Social Democrats united in the SED formed a working group with the KPD party organizations in the Western zones. It made the struggle for a peace-loving, unified, democratic German Republic its main cause. It demanded a consistent requital with those responsible for fascism and war also in the Western zones. It tried to mobilize the workers' class and all other antifascists and democrats for its goals. The SED founded the people's congress movement for unity and a just peace, which called on the Germans to start national self-help and appealed to the victorious powers to conclude a peace treaty with an all-German government and to withdraw their troops.

In contrast, the German forces of monopolistic capital in the Western zones, together with the imperialist Western powers, worked for the full restoration of their power in an increasingly open way. Since it was impossible to implement such plans in all of Germany, they wanted to reestablish the rule of German imperialism at least in the Western zones, according to the slogan "Better half of Germany in its entirety than all of half of Germany." In violation of the Potsdam Agreement, without any democratic legitimacy, and based on the orders of the Western occupation powers, they followed the path of dismembering Germany. At a time when the imperialist Western powers brought about serious dangers to world peace with the transition to Cold War and nuclear blackmail, they intended to correct the results of World War II by integrating the Western Zones into an anti-Soviet bloc led by the United States.

The SED/KPD working group, the people's congress movement, and then the National Front called the patriotic and democratic forces in all occupation zones to the struggle against this antinational, peace-endangering policy, and met with unrestricted support from the Soviet Union. But German and international reaction created more and more facts [tatsachen] on the fateful path on which they had embarked, and the SPD leadership supported this policy. Integrating the Western zones into the imperialist Marshall Plan, the separate currency reform, the division of Berlin, and the enforcement of a separate Constitution were essential stations on a path that finally led to the establishment of the FRG in September 1949. By establishing and restoring the imperialist Bonn state, the chance of 1945 to establish a unified, democratic, and peace-loving German state was destroyed.

In view of the new situation and the changing conditions of struggle, the SED and the KPD dissolved their working group. Already in 1948 the KPD organized itself as an independent party in the Western zones. The Communists were the ones that struggled most energetically against the establishment of a West German state, its remilitarization, and its integration into NATO. The rulers of the Bonn state responded to this by putting a ban on the KPD in 1956, which has not been lifted to date. Only 1 decade after the abolition of the fascist dictatorship in the FRG, the KPD had been declared illegal again, its members and followers were persecuted again and were subjected to reprisals.

The German Communists had struggled with determination against the dismemberment of Germany as long as there were preconditions for that. After two independent German states with different social systems and different alliance membership and West Berlin had been established in the course of harsh class conflicts, they drew all conclusions from this irrevocable reality and made them the basis of their policy and organization. In 1968 the DKP was newly constituted in the FRG. Via the West Berlin leadership of the SED, the independent SED-W had been developing since 1962, which renamed itself into SEW at its extraordinary party congress in 1969. These parties are struggling for peace, democracy, and social progress under the existing circumstances in the FRG and in Berlin (West). The SED feels most closely linked with the KPD and the SEW, which are committed to the ideals of the Communists and are rooted in the same historical tradition, in the common responsibility that only peace may emanate from German soil.

28. In 1949—supported by a broad people's movement and with the approval of all democratic and pacifist forces united in the National Front—the GDR came into being. The Constitution, which was discussed by the people before it entered into force with the founding of the state, documented that for the first time in German history the working people had become the architects of their own fortune, thus conquering their own fatherland. The power had been wrenched once and for all from the exploiters, oppressors, those who were responsible for two world wars, those who paved the way for fascism, its instigators and profiteers. The goals set by the KPD at the Brussels and Bern conferences, the demands that were raised in the Central Committee's call on 11 June 1945 and reaffirmed in the principles and goals of the SED had become a social reality through the struggle of the SED and its alliance partners. What the founders of the KPD strived for, what the Communists and other antifascists struggled for, and what many gave their lives for, had been achieved: a German worker-peasant state that is closely allied with the Soviet Union, and in which the working people are able to realize their right to a life in peace, their right to freedom, and all other human rights.

In the GDR, the responsible positions in the state, the economy, and culture were in the hands of socialists and

antifascists. One of the founders and former KPD chairman, Wilhelm Pieck, assumed the high position of president of the republic. His fellow fighter Otto Grotewohl, former chairman of the SPD Central Committee, became prime minister.

With the GDR, a German peace state was created for the first time that does not pose a threat to any other people, that does not question any borders, and that considers it its supreme duty to do everything possible so that war will never again emanate from German soil. As a firm element in the community of socialist states, it is proving itself as a vigorous defender of peace at the center of the continent, even—and particularly—in situations that are critical for peace in Europe. Backed by the USSR, the other socialist states, and progressive movements all over the world, the GDR earned international recognition and fought for its unrestricted participation in international life, in spite of discrimination and obstructionism on the part of those who tried to question the German worker-peasant state's right to exist.

The GDR embodies the socialist state power that had been striven for by the KPD since its founding. In all phases of socialist construction, the power of the workers' class and its allies proved to be the most important thing in achieving progress and in implementing the interests of the working people. As the socialist state is the indispensable instrument for creating a new society, the SED protects this achievement for which it struggled so hard, and does not allow anyone to violate or endanger it.

29. When the antifascist-democratic change was completed and the worker-peasant state was established, when the working people had eliminated the worst destruction of war through their construction work and had initiated the rise of the GDR through their own force, the GDR started to lay the foundations for socialism. As the KPD had predicted in the program of its founding congress, the socialist revolution proved to be the most powerful task of the workers' class. Society had to be completely restructured, and this was only possible with the aid of a movement that was supported by the people's masses. This was all the more true for a country like the GDR that had to establish communism on the dividing line of the two opposed world systems and military coalitions under conditions that were complicated in many respects.

The working people, led by the SED, created their socialist society in a small part of the country that was ruined by the criminal war of the fascists and torn apart by imperialism. They implemented their first long-term economic plans on the basis of an economy that first was only a torso and on the basis of a border which was open for a long time and actually prompted the imperialist policy of threats and interference. They had to struggle against the political and military pressure of the NATO states and their attempts to fan an internal counterrevolution, which at the same time provoked dangerous international tensions. They were facing a ruthless economic war which was aimed at destroying the material basis of the existence of the worker-peasant power. They provided adequate replies to all the opponents' attacks by protecting the borders of the GDR and peace at the heart of Europe in an efficient manner, such as through the measures that were taken on 13 August 1961.

The fact that it was possible to translate the socialist target, which is based on scientific principles, into deeds, under these conditions, and to basically solve the fundamental tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism at the beginning of the sixties, speaks for the vital force of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the course of the SED. The ideals of the founders of the KPD continued to live among those who built socialism. Numerous insights gained by the KPD determined their actions and merged with new experiences gained in the construction of socialism. In 1950, Walter Ulbricht, former member of Thaelmann's KPD Central Committee and of his Politburo, was elected general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and in 1960 he was entrusted with the high position of chairman of the GDR State Council.

The worker-peasant power matured and developed into a socialist state organization which gradually learned how to better lead and guide the political, economic, social, and cultural processes. The slogan "Work, Plan, and Govern together!" became the maxim of all mass organizations that were united in the National Front, and the guideline for the unfolding of socialist democracy. The worker-peasant power created a reliable national defense within the framework of the military coalition of the socialist community, a people's army, in which the traditions of the militant struggle of the workers' class were continued.

By nationalizing all decisive means of production in industry and agriculture, the working people of the GDR eliminated the socioeconomic causes of the exploitation of man by man. State-owned socialist property and cooperative socialist property represented the preconditions for the firm socioeconomic foundations of the worker-peasant state, the basis for a socialist planned economy which serves the interests of the working people. In this, ways and methods were developed that had never been tried before and that made it possible for craftsmen, tradesmen, small and medium-sized capitalist enterprises, and large-scale peasants to introduce forms of production that were adequate for a socialist society.

With the progress of socialist construction, the people themselves changed as well. Those who followed the call of the party, who did not shun difficulties and, being real Communists, did not search for the most comfortable way, achieved great things, even if they erred sometimes or were impatient. The militant spirit and the morals of earlier generations of the revolutionary workers' movement continued to be alive in their deeds. Not only did

they clear our towns of the ruins and construct them anew, not only did they reestablish and restructure agriculture, serve in the ranks of the militant groups of the workers' class and the organs of our defense and security forces, they also acquired a high educational level, familiarized the people with the truth of our ideology and our ideals, made possible and promoted the flourishing of science and of the socialist German national culture. Through their steadfastness and courage, their loyalty to the ideas of peace, antifascism, socialism, and international solidarity, they won the confidence and the respect of millions of citizens in the GDR, enhanced creative activities, and contributed to the great respect our country enjoys among the progressive forces all over the world.

By realizing the legacy of the KPD—though under different conditions than were predictable in 1918—and by establishing the foundations for a socialist society on German soil, the SED created a new and irreversible historic reality and a secure foundation for further social progress. Guided by the scientific insight that, after the implementation of socialist power and production conditions, the forces and potentials inherent in socialism are to unfold in a lengthy process, at the beginning of the sixties the SED aimed its efforts toward the comprehensive construction of socialism in the GDR. It provided ideas and searched for future-oriented solutions to new social challenges that resulted from the development of socialism on its own basis and from the scientific-technological revolution.

V. [Roman five] The Legacy of the KPD Is Alive in the SED's Policy That Is Close to the People [subhead]

30. In the further construction of socialism, under the new conditions in the last third of the 20th century, the SED is also consistently pursuing the revolutionary ideals of the German workers' movement, it continues the traditions of the KPD's struggle for a society without exploitation and oppression, without crises and wars, for a peaceful world and fruitful cooperation among all peoples. Bearing in mind the experiences and lessons of this struggle, the party works for the shaping of socialism as the only social system that serves the interests and the well-being of the people, and that can guarantee social justice, protection, and a high level of education, freedom, democracy, and human dignity for all working people.

In the GDR, too, every step in building socialism was and is a step into a new world that is inevitably linked with a constant process of always searching for the best ways to master the tasks that have arisen, how to overcome contradictions in accordance with the specific national and historical conditions.

Remembering the experience of the KPD that changing situations in social development and in the class conflict with imperialism are giving rise to new questions that must be answered and that require the further development of the party's strategy, tactics, and leadership work, the SED continually analyzes the changing internal and external conditions and the resulting greater demands, is working out in time solutions for newly emerging problems, and is putting into practice the new insights in its advance together with the working people. It is and remains the guarantee of successful policy and fruitful work that the party always lets itself be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, takes into consideration the general characteristics of the class struggle and of the building of socialism, and applies them creatively to the respective conditions of struggle.

It has repeatedly been proven that the decisive factor for the successful way of the SED is that it is headed by a uniformly acting Marxist-Leninist leadership collective that is led by Comrade Erich Honecker, who has come from the Thaelmann Guard and has been hardened in many class struggles. In May 1971, Erich Honecker was elected SED Central Committee general secretary and in October 1976 chairman of the GDR State Council. In the severe struggles against fascism and war, the party's leadership collective unites Communists who have come from the best traditions of the German workers' movement and have stood their tests in the ranks of the SED in building socialism. It represents the continuity of the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the workers' class and the working people with Thaelmann's Central Committee.

With the decisions of its eighth congress in June 1971, the SED introduced a change in the further shaping of socialism in the GDR. The strategy decided by it on the shaping of the developed socialist society in our country provided creative answers to the questions of further social advance. The Eighth SED Congress made the close linking of economic and social policy and the course toward the comprehensive intensification of the national economy through effective utilization of the scientific-technological progress the focal point of this strategy. In connection with this, the party introduced a number of basic reforms, such as the restructuring of management, planning, and economic cost accounting, the perfection of the socialist production conditions in industry and agriculture, the modernization of the material-technical base, and the close interlacing of science and production, in order to link the advantages of socialism with the results of the scientific-technological revolution, for the benefit of the people. It linked all this with the shaping of the entire education sector with regard to its content, of vocational basic and advanced training of the working people, and far-reaching measures to perfect and develop socialist democracy in the national economy and in all other social fields.

At the ninth congress in 1976 and in the party program adopted there, the SED substantiated in a thorough and comprehensive theoretical way its concepts for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, with

which it staked out a long route in shaping socialism and made an important contribution to enriching the Marxist-Leninist treasure of knowledge and experience.

The SED has never considered the working out of its strategic concept for the shaping of the developed socialist society as finished. It proceeds much more from the premise that this is, as the party program says, a historic process of thorough political, economic, social, cultural, and intellectual changes. As Erich Honecker noted, this requires "again and again finding new answers—in line with our national conditions—to the questions posed by life in order to steadily continue our sociopolitical course, the core of which is the unity of economic and social policy." (Footnote 24) (Erich Honecker: "With the People and For the People We Implement the General Policy of Our Party for the Benefit of the People," p 16)

After the party's course—begun in 1971—had already fully proved its worth for 1 and ½ decades, the 11th SED Congress in 1986 introduced a new stage in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and already directed its gaze toward the year 2000.

31. While the inseparable connection of peace and social progress has always characterized the struggle of the revolutionary vanguard of the German workers' class, in our time the unity of socialism and peace determines the policy and actions of the SED more than ever before. Today, at a time when the danger of mankind's self-destruction in a nuclear world war is imminent, there is nothing more important and urgent than defending peace and safeguarding it on a lasting basis. This has become the basic condition for the continuing existence of today's and future generations, for solving all of mankind's global problems, and for social progress. The lessons learned by the KPD after World War I—that the struggle against war has to be pursued before arms are used—are more topical than ever.

The military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United Nations, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, has proved to be an indispensable factor for the improvement of the international situation and for reining in the aggressive imperialist forces. At the side of its allies, the GDR is working to maintain this balance on an increasingly lower level.

On the basis of the peace concept of the Eighth SED Congress, the GDR has made its constructive contribution to the joint, coordinated foreign policy of the community of socialist states and contributed to the conclusion of the European treaties and the CSCE in Europe, with which the results of World War II and the postwar development were set down in a way that is binding for all states. As an internationally recognized state under international law, the GDR is categorically against any efforts of those aggressive circles in the NATO states that question the European states with revanchist and nationalist slogans and want to correct the current political and social status quo for the benefit of imperialism. The socialist German state is steadfastly advocating that the principles of peaceful coexistence be made the generally recognized norm in the relations between states with different social systems.

The SED responded to the transition of the aggressive forces of imperialism to confrontation and armament at the beginning of the eightiess by starting a dialogue—useful to all peoples—on preventing the inferno of a nuclear war and on a thorough improvement of the international situation. It advocated a greater influence of the forces of reason and realism on international relations. The feverish activities of the United States, the FRG, and other NATO states to station top modern intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe and to start a new "crusade against communism," and their plans to make it possible to pursue and win a "limited nuclear war" in the wake of a "nuclear first strike" against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and to forge ahead with armament in space for this purpose, made the risk of a nuclear world war immeasurably greater. From this the SED derived the obligation now more than ever to do everything to avert a nuclear inferno, to halt the arms race, and to safeguard peace. At the international Karl Marx conference of the SED in 1983, Erich Honecker said it was the need of the hour "that all political and social forces that sincerely desire peace—regardless of different political programs, ideological positions, and religious beliefs—work together across class barriers and things that separate them in order to save the peoples from the disaster of a nuclear war." (Footnote 25) (Erich Honecker: "Speech at the International Scientific Conference of the SED Central Committee 'Karl Marx and Our Time—the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress' in Berlin" in "Speeches and Essays," Berlin 1985, Vol 9, p 284) The SED and the GDR are persistently working to bring together all forces that sincerely desire peace in a worldwide coalition of reason and realism.

The SED continuously advocates finding a common language for the issue of peace and for other urgent problems of mankind, in cooperation with Social Democratic and Socialist parties and the Socialist International. We also call for agreement on joint actions. Visible results of these efforts are the proposals for a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe and the document "The Conflict of Ideologies and Joint Security," which was worked out jointly by the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee and by the SPD Basic Values Commission.

Together with the USSR and the other states of the Warsaw Pact, the GDR is doing everything it can to end the arms race on earth and to prevent it in space, to reduce and subsequently eliminate all nuclear weapons, and for arms limitation and disarmament in line with the principle of equality and equal security. The SED emphatically supports the programs submitted by the Soviet Union in 1986 for freeing the world from nuclear

weapons by the year 2000 and for creating a comprehensive system of international security and the proposals for the drastic reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. As was confirmed at their two Berlin summits in 1987 and in the military doctrine of the socialist military coalition, the Warsaw Pact states are striving for a level of both their own and NATO's armed forces and armaments that is so low that it guarantees the defense capability but excludes the ability to attack.

If the active peace strategy of the Warsaw Pact states yields results and after years of increasing confrontation, and after years of rising confrontation, steadily increased arms race, and escalating tensions a change for the better is now starting, the GDR is making internationally recognized, independent contributions to this with its coordinated actions with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and with the nonaligned states and through its result-oriented dialogue with leading representatives of many capitalist countries, and political, social, and religious movements. This is particularly demonstrated by its constructive work for the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the agreement with the USSR to remove the shorter-range and intermediate-range nuclear missiles deployed on GDR territory earlier than originally planned. The treaty between the USSR and the United States is a first, truly historic step that frees access to far-reaching disarmament agreements. It encourages the SED in its determination to reach without long intervals one zero-option after the other after this double zero-option, so that the nuclear devil's tools of any range disappear and all kinds of mass-destruction weapons are eliminated.

If in the bitter struggle for disarmament and international security positive tendencies are gaining ground, this is also the success of all those who—under the slogan "My workplace is my battle station for peace"—have accomplished great achievements for the strengthening of the GDR and thus for safeguarding peace and continue to do so every day. It proves true again: In the same way as a secure peace is the basic condition for the development of motive forces, values, achievements, and advantages of socialism, the further strengthening of socialism is the basic condition for the preservation of peace.

32. At all times the SED lest itself be guided by the principle laid down in the "Communist Party Manifesto," repeatedly stressed by Ernst Thaelmann, and demonstrated in the entire work of the KPD, that the Communists are not pursuing any interests that are separated from the interests of their class and that the party knows nothing more important than the interests of the workers' class and of the working people. At its Eighth Congress, the SED put the basic principle of socialism—to do everything for the welfare of the people, for the interests of the workers' class and of the other working people—more clearly than ever into the center or its policy and its actions. In accordance with the unshakable principle that the party with all its work always has to achieve tangible, positive results for the people, it tackled the main task in shaping the developed socialist society. This consists in further raising the material and cultural standard of living of the people on the basis of a rapid rate of development in socialist production, rising efficiency, scientific-technological progress, and the growth of labor productivity. The purposeful implementation of this course of unity of economic and social policy has made the time since 1971 a particularly successful period of social advance in the GDR. The consistent implementation of the largest and most comprehensive sociopolitical program in the history of our people and of its core, the housing program, has created better living conditions for millions of workers and other working people, for working mothers, children, and families, for young couples, and veterans of work. An essential contribution was also made by the remarkable achievements in the education, health, and social sector, in the fields of culture, physical culture, and sports, and in other social areas.

Closely linked with all working people, the SED has followed a path on which the individual has learned that good work pays off. Social security, full employment, high education, and equal chances for all, and active participation in management and planning, in utilizing and augmenting the treasures of science and culture characterize the daily life of the people in the GDR and stimulate the readiness to further strengthen the socialist fatherland with great achievements.

The clear avowal of the essence of socialism in the SED program and the adherence of the 10th and 11th congress to the course of the unity of economic and social policy in spite of increasingly complicated international conditions confirm that man with his interests, with his material and cultural needs and creative abilities, the development of his personality, and the establishment of socialist social relations are the focal points of the SED's policy. Erich Honecker said in this respect: "Worker-peasant power and socialism on German soil are the guarantees for an existence in which man can be man and in which he himself benefits from the fruits of his work. This gives rise to a strong stimulus to personal commitment and creative participation in our joint, great work..." (Footnote 26) (Erich Honecker: "With the People and For the People We Implement the General Policy of Our Party for the Benefit of the People," p 6)

33. The experiences gained in the decade-long struggles of the KPD and the SED confirm that freedom, the rights and dignity, the well-being and happiness of the working people are inseparably linked with their political power. The fact that the GDR was established as a state of workers and peasants has repeatedly proved and still proves an important condition and guarantee for true democracy. In our Republic the question of freedom, democracy, and humaneness for a minority of exploiters and profiteers or for the majority of the people

has been finally and irrevocably decided in favor of the workers' class, the class of cooperative peasants, and all other working people. The worker-peasant power is thus the most important democratic achievement in German history. Therefore, the SED is continuously strengthening the socialist state.

Socialist democracy is developing through the increasingly active and comprehensive participation of all social forces in the people's representative bodies and their organs, in a great number of social commissions, committees, and advisory councils. Its further development—from enterprises and to work collectives—is taking place mainly by means of further shaping the rights and responsibilities of the trade unions in line with their steadily increasing role as schools of socialism, initiators of socialist competition, and representatives of the interests of the working people. Socialist democracy is expressed by the fact that millions of people accept responsibility in state and society every day. Today one in three GDR citizens is engaging in honorary work.

Worker-peasant power and socialist democracy are also the preconditions and guarantee for the implementation of human rights in their entirety, the economic, social, and cultural rights as well as the political and personal rights and freedoms. They were created in trusting cooperation between the citizens of all classes and strata, and no one is excluded. In the socialist GDR there is no mass unemployment, no "new poverty," and there are no "social outcasts." Restrictions on education and training, existential fear, and uncertainty about the future are as alien to its citizens as systematic human rights violations by means of bans on exercising one's profession, the persecution of antinuclear activists, ideological spying, and many other antidemocratic activities. The political and social facts and the juridical guarantees offer each individual citizen real opportunities to lead a meaningful life in social safety and protection, to observe his interests in education, culture, and professional development, in sports and health matters, and to meet his intellectual needs. In the GDR, implementing the human rights means participation in the shaping of socialism for the benefit of all and of every individual.

Socialist democracy in the GDR is irreplaceable. Great power, the lever for the further social progress in our country, is inherent in it. It realizes the vision contained in the program of the KPD Founding Congress that the working people "themselves, with their own activities, introduce socialism in life step by step. The nature of the socialist society consists in the fact that the great working mass stops being a mass ruled by others, lives the entire political and economic life itself and controls it in conscious free self-determination." (Footnote 27) ("Protocol of the Founding Congress," p 288)

34. The more effectively the ideals of the revolutionary workers' movement and antifascist struggle and the ideals of peace and freedom, of democracy, human dignity, and solidarity were put into practice in the building of socialism, the more they became the motive and contents of all social forces' participation in strengthening the GDR as the common fatherland. In this dedicated work, both the historical experiences of the freedom struggles of the peasants, the concerns of liberal and bourgeois-democratic ideology, and the consequences of Christian ethics are being preserved.

In line with the tested principle that socialism is there for all people and needs all people, the steady perfection of the comradely and trusting relations between the workers' class, the class of the cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, and the other working people is and remains a basic pillar of the SED's social strategy. Every citizen, regardless of his social origin, regardless of his ideology and religion, has a chance for democratic participation and enjoys all opportunities for good work and the free development of his personality.

Proceeding from this, the SED is steadily paying attention to cooperation with the Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the National Democratic Party of Germany, with the FDGB, the FDJ, the Democratic Women's League, the GDR Cultural League, the Peasant's Mutual Aid, and with all other social forces united in the democratic bloc and in the national front. In their activities the alliance partners are guided by the knowledge that the course that was started in 1971 and serves the welfare of all citizens also poses increasingly great demands on their social responsibility. In this spirit, the parties allied with the SED are making independent alliance contributions to fulfilling the joint tasks.

The GDR national front offers a varied field of work for the cooperation of the parties, mass organizations, and all other social forces. This is demonstrated by the honorary work of Communists, members of friendly parties, and nonparty people in the national front committees and in the house and street communities, and by the results in the "Beautify Our Towns and Villages—Join In!" movement.

35. Following the KPD's tradition of struggle and the example of Ernst Thaelmann, the SED considers the relationship with the Soviet Union and the CPSU as the testing ground for revolutionary thinking and activity, the yardstick of a class-minded attitude in the struggle for peace and social progress. The Eighth SED Congress and the SED program confirmed that the indestructible militant alliance with the party and the country of Lenin, the irrevocable rooting of the GDR in the community of socialist states was, is, and will remain a basic condition and source of strength for the development of the socialist GDR.

Year after year our unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union was strengthened, and the cooperation with the socialist countries deepened. For decades the SED has been working together with the fraternal parties

of the other socialist states to tap even more effectively the potentials inherent in socialism. The GDR supports the efforts in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries to increase their economic capacity. On its own part, it receives the support of the fraternal countries in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Today it is of utmost political and economic importance in all socialist countries for the further progress, for raising the attractiveness and international influence of socialism, and for safeguarding world peace to master the problems of social development, in particular to guarantee a dynamic economic and social development on the basis of the most modern results of scientific-technological progress. In this respect, every country has to consider its state of development and its specific conditions. The development processes tackled in this connection will also improve the conditions for cooperation of the socialist states among each other and will, at the same time, make socialism more interesting and attractive in the peaceful competition with the capitalist system.

With its active work in the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA, the GDR contributes to making the economic and scientific-technological cooperation of the fraternal parties and states more dynamic, operational, and efficient. Erich Honecker said that the SED is in favor of "making progress and doing new things, getting rid of things that have not proved their worth, but keeping tested things, because, as Lenin aptly said, we Communists are the party of innovators." (Footnote 28) (Erich Honecker: "With the People and For the People We Implement the General Policy of Our Party for the Benefit of the People," p 17) In this respect, the SED takes the experiences of building socialism in other countries into consideration and makes use of them without simply copying them, because this would be detrimental.

Continuing the rich internationalist traditions of the KPD, the SED is acting as part of the international Communist movement, supports the joint struggle of all Communist and workers' parties, all revolutionary parties and progressive movements, all forces of peace and progress for joint goals and ideals, advocates peace, the national and social liberation of the peoples, democracy and socialism. Just as the SED and GDR could rely on the solidarity of fellow fighters from all over the world, they are providing active anti-imperialist solidarity to the liberation struggle of the peoples, their struggle for freedom and self-determination.

36. The creation and successful development of the first socialist state on German soil are indivisibly linked with the achievements of the SED. It added many impressive chapters of socialist construction and the struggle for freedom to the traditions of decades of struggle of the German Communists against imperialism, militarism, fascism, and war.

The pledge of past and future successes is the purposeful leadership of social progress by the party, its constant ideopolitical and organizational activity. The SED is the party of the workers' class and of the entire people, it comes from the people, it belongs to the people, and it devotes all its strength to the well-being of the people. It guides and mobilizes the working people's creativities and initiatives in creating conditions that permit man to be a human being and allow him to enjoy the fruit of his work.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism was and continues to be the theoretical foundation of the SED's entire work, the guidance for conscious activity in the interests of the workers' class and the other working people. It has repeatedly proven to be a creative theory that provides constructive answers to the dynamic process of development of socialism and the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress. All attempts by stubborn defenders and preachers of capitalism, from the middle of the 19th to the last third of the 20th centuries, to persecute and suppress the scientific ideology of the workers' class, to "declare it dead" or to "revise" it, to "condemn" it or "improve" it through all kinds of "advice," did not prevent Marxism-Leninism from rising to become the most influential intellectual ideology. In the GDR, too, it exerts a decisive influence on the thinking and activity of millions of people, in education, science, and culture, the whole intellectual life, and the socialist way of life.

The SED's consistent continuation of the practices of the KPD, aimed at constantly and systematically spreading Marxist-Leninist ideology and the historical experiences and teachings in their own ranks and among all working people, was of decisive importance in this respect. On the basis of clear class positions, it deepens the understanding for the character of the epoch and for day-to-day political events, for the dialectics of the class struggle, for the indivisible link between socialism and peace, for the policy of peaceful coexistence, of reason and realism, for flexibility and toughness in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente. In an equally consistent manner, the SED continues the militant tradition of Thaelmann by vigorously unmasking the goals of the enemy of socialism, of the opponents of disarmament and detente, by decisively countering defamations and provocations against the policy of the party and the socialist state, and by not permitting the spread of antisocialist views.

To strengthen the unity and coherence of its ranks and to increase the militant strength of its organization has been and continues to be the precondition for observing the increased guiding role of the party in further shaping of the developed socialist society. In this, the SED consistently applies the tested Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which provides all preconditions for multiplying the forces through concerted actions from the Central Committee to the basic organizations and by directing them toward the solution of the questions that deserve priority in the interest of the

whole of society. This includes the broad unfolding of democracy within the party, the candid, constructive discussion of all party matters as well as the consistent application of Leninist standards for party life, the strengthening of collectiveness and personal responsibility, ideological steadfastness, conscious discipline, and a high level of commitment as the preconditions for unified and concerted actions by all Communists.

To keep alive the legacy of the revolutionary fighters for freedom and justice, against fascism and war, of the activists of the first hour, of those who built the worker-peasant state and socialism, in the party itself and among the entire people of the GDR, was and continues to be an essential goal of the SED's work. It imparts the experiences of decades of the Communists' struggle for the interests of the workers' class and the other working people, for the well-being and the happiness of the people, to the younger generations, and helps every rising generation to understand the regularities of our epoch and to assume their responsibility for the comprehensive strengthening and the secure protection of the socialist fatherland. Our party passes on from generation to generation the ideals and the examples of the Communists, the meaning of their lives and of the struggle, and characteristics, such as revolutionary fervor, sacrificial commitment to progress, irreconcilability toward the class enemy, steadfastness and unyieldingness in difficult situations, trust in victory and creative restlessness, unwavering loyalty to socialism, to proletarian internationalism, and anti-imperialist solidarity. Thus, the SED continues the traditions of the KPD and proves to be a future-oriented party, a party of innovators and the young. By passing on these ideals, personal values, and experiences, it prepares the young generation for carrying the banner of socialism and its achievements on German soil across the threshold of the new millenium.

In the spirit of Thaelmann, the close alliance with the people was and continues to be the most important concern of the leadership activities of the SED and of the work of the Communists. It is aimed at creating everywhere a creative atmosphere in which the wealth of ideas, the initiatives, and the readiness for action of all citizens can fully unfold. The close alliance between the party and the people includes organizing the active and knowledgeable participation of all citizens in state and social matters and reacting responsibly to their proposals, hints, and critical remarks. It also includes, in accordance with the slogan "Where There Is a Comrade, There Is the Party," daily political discussions and the care for a high level of education and culture, for good medical services, multifaceted opportunities for organizing one's leisure, and for a well-functioning everyday life in the towns and villages.

Seventy years of the KPD and 40 years of the GDR have proven that the goal of the untiring and consistent struggle, of the selfless commitment, and of the great sacrifices of the KPD have been achieved. Its goal of establishing a humane society and ensuring work and food, democracy and peace for the entire people, has been realized in our worker-peasant state. Under the leadership of the SED, our people mastered an epoch that was rich in hard struggles and strenuous work, in successes and experiences. Thanks to the purposeful Marxist-Leninist policy of the SED, socialism has irrevocably been established on German soil, and a flourishing socialist state came into being closely allied with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, representing a real alternative to the inhuman capitalist system of exploitation. During the nearly 4 decades following its founding, the GDR developed into a reliable cornerstone of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe.

By continuing to fulfill its responsibility toward its own people true to the legacy of the heroic and sacrificial struggle of the KPD, and by successfully implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress together with all working people, it contributes at the same time to further increasing the attractiveness of socialism in the world and to safeguarding peace.

Government Responds to Romania Consulate Closing

LD2806204388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2014 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The Romanian party and state leadership has closed down the Hungarian People's Republic's consulate general in Kolozsvar [Hungarian name for Romanian city of Cluj-Napoca] and has ordered its workers out of the country. The people working there must leave Romania within 48 hours, Foreign Minister Ioan Totu said today when he summoned Pal Szuts, Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest.

He said the reasons for the decision were the Hungarian protest movements against the Romanian settlement ordering plans.

The Budapest communique issued on the Romanian measure emphasizes that the Romanian Government bears the responsibility for breaking the consular agreement between the two countries.

Despite this serious Romanian measure, the Hungarian Government will not deviate from the principled policy it has followed to date and which is directed toward deepening the friendship between the Hungarian and Romanian people, strengthening the connecting role of nationalities, and developing multifaceted Hungarian-Romanian cooperation.

Statement of Hungarian Workers in Romania Noted

LD2806142688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The Council of Romanian Workers of Ethnic Hungarian Origin has held a session in Bucharest. Chairman Mihaly Gere stated in his report that one of the greatest achievements of the Ceausescu era is that it has insured full equality of patriots. Equality of rights prevails in the areas of education and culture, as well. The report emphasizes that acquiring the Romanian language is a requirement of education in the revolutionary patriotic spirit.

The Council of Romanian Workers of Ethnic Hungarian Origin, and we quote, rejects with outrage the chauvinist, revanchist, irredentist expressions of certain circles of the Hungarian People's Republic which intentionally distort Romanian reality. They blacken and view in a hostile manner the results achieved by the Romanian people. They falsify the presence and the historical past as well.

Finally, the council reiterated its support for territorial reorganization plans.

Newspapers Examine Relations With Romania

LD2906093088 Budapest MTI in English 0740 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—Referring to the events of the Monday demonstration in Budapest, the Wednesday "MAGYAR NEMZET" underlines that it was peaceful with no disturbances. The article recalls that when a group of Romanian refugees arrived with a Romanian flag, the crowd applauded and cheered the friendship of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples.

With regard to the news disclosed yesterday on the closing of the Hungarian Consulate General in Kolozsvar justified with the Hungarian demonstrations against the Romanian plans of resettlement, "MAGYAR HIRLAP" writes [Budapest MTI in English at 1020 GMT on 29 June transmits a service message correcting the name of the newspaper in the preceding sentence to read "MAGYAR NEMZET"]: 'As an answer for the Hungarian protests, a demonstration has been organized in Bucharest for Wednesday in the name of the Council of the Ethnic Hungarian Workers in Romania. Let us hope that participants of the today's demonstration will also applaud those who may be there with red-white-green banners.... Let us hope that with noble restraint and in all sincerity they will also cheer Romanian-Hungarian friendship as it happened in Budapest. Let us hope that they will also demonstrate against the destruction of 8,000 villages, in defence of the settlements, churches, cemetaries and traditions of Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serb and other nationalities. Let us hope that they will also demand more liberty, more individual and collective human rights, free use of language, and more democracy. Let us hope that they will do this with dignity, without hatred, in the knowledge of the heavy historical experience, and being aware that it is important not only for the region but for whole Europe that every man—as an individual and as a member of an ethnic minority—feel free, that no man could be forced to leave behind his home, his village, his past, his everyday life or his mother tongue.

The Romanians must know that the Hungarian nation is not an enemy. And nobody who wants to live free is the enemy of any other nation. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Further Reportage on 27 June Demonstration

Vienna Paper's 'Exclusive' Article

AU2906105288 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 29 Jun 88 pp 4-5

["Exclusive" report by Erwin Melchart from Budapest: "Down With Ceausescu!"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Budapest, Monday evening [27 June], 1900: Tens of thousands of people fill the enormous square around the statue of Arpad, Hungary's first king, and his tribal chiefs. They are closely packed

together and even stand in the adjacent streets. Later the organizers, members of several private citizens' action committees which have formed around the Budapest "Democratic Forum," estimated that 70,000 to 100,000 people participated in the demonstration. [passage omitted]

They are demonstrating against Nicolae Ceausescu, 70, who plans to destroy 8,000 (!) of Romania's 13,000 villages in a dictatorial "land renewal." The fact that in particular the villages of the Hungarian and German minority are affected by this and that the people are to be resettled somewhere else, simultaneously solves the smoldering minority conflicts for Romania's "Little Nero." [passage omitted]

A New "Iron Curtain" [subhead]

"This is genocide!" says lawyer Dr Laszlo Nagy, one of the organizers of the large demonstration in Budapest: "The Hungarian and German minorities in Romania have been severely oppressed for quite some time. Hungarian schools are being closed down, letters are being censored, Hungarian papers are being confiscated, and cultural institutions are being hindered. But the demolition of the villages is genocide. They have already started with the destruction. But now it is difficult for us to get new information. Because the Ceausescu regime has started to construct technical barriers 25 km from the border with Hungary—to make it impossible for so many people to flee."

"A new Iron Curtain behind the Iron Curtain?" I ask. "Yes," Dr Nagy says. "But for us in Budapest it is also dangerous to say anything against Romania. This morning one of our organizers was attacked and thrown to the ground by two armed men of the Romanian secret service Securitate at Margaret's Bridge. They wanted to drag him into a car. Since 0830 we have all been under the protection of the police." "On 18 March 1988 on 1014 I reached Hungarian territory," Geza Kolcsar, 25, says. He is one of the more than 8,000 Hungarian-speaking Romanians who have fled to Budapest over the past few months. "I applied for a passport under my Hungarian name 11 times. Without success. Suddenly they gave me a passport with the name 'Colceriu Cezar.' But I did not touch it and fled. They want us all to change from Hungarian to Romanian names. I will not do this. Now I am here in Hungary, but without a passport."

"They Come at Night!" [subhead]

"The demolition of the villages has already started," Geza Kolcsar reports. "They come at night. Police. They drive the people from their houses with arms. The people are permitted to take with them only the most basic things. And then come the bulldozers and simply flatten the ground-floor farm houses! Everything. The people are told to get lost. To go somewhere, anywhere. To friends. Relatives. No preparations have been made. There is no alternate accomodation. At least this was the case in Csikszentsimon, a village with 5,000 inhabitants that I know. And in Schwab-Petri, a German village with 8,000 inhabitants and pretty houses. The people are simply being driven away!" [passage omitted]

Spokesmen at News Conference

LD2806194988 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—As reported earlier, on Tuesday the international press conference of the two spokesmen of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs focussed on issues of disarmament.

Assessing the recent 3rd special session on disarmament of the UN General Assembly, Tibor Toth recalled that the international forum failed to formulate a closing document based on consensus. The failure, he said, was due to the fact that the various groups of countries approached these very complex issues under different priority orders. According to the Hungarian position, the session was another important stage of the disarmament process since the necessity of the many-sided treatment of disarmament issues has strengthened in international life. The concrete proposals made in the session may form a basis of debates and consultations in various disarmament forums.

Tibor Toth expounded the statement of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the modified Jaruzelski Plan. The statement emphasizes that the recently disclosed renewed version of the Jaruzelski Plan for reducing armaments and building confidence in central Europe is constructive and genuine. Hungary reiterates that it supports the proposals of the Polish Government.

Istvan Komoroczky, the other spokesman, announced at the press conference that in future the preliminary permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would not be required for foreign TV crews to film in Hungary. In the wake of this measure the Hungarian side expects that other countries where the institution of preliminary permission is still in effect will follow the initiative.

Answering questions by some correspondents, Istvan Komoroczky recalled that the Budapest demonstration held Monday evening was not supported officially. The demonstration took place peacefully, in compliance with the laws of Hungary, without any disturbance. The Hungarian authorities, observing the stipulations of the 1961 Vienna agreement on diplomatic relations, guaranteed the security of the Romanian Embassy and the free movement of its staff. The Foreign Ministry informed the Romanian side on the demonstration in advance. Accordingly, if a similar demonstration were in the offing in Bucharest, the Romanian side would most surely inform its Hungarian partner. So far the Foreign Ministry has not received any notification of that kind.

The spokesman recalled that the Central Committees of the RCP and the HSWP exchanged letters recently. The Hungarian side took a stand for the settlement of the disputed issues through negotiations, and proposed that the secretaries in charge of foreign affairs should hold a consultation preparing an eventual high-level visit. Hungary does not wish to turn to external arbitrators, it starts from the fact that the disputed issues should be settled by the two countries themselves.

MAGYAR NEMZET Preview

AU2806155588 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Jun 88 p 1

[Editorial by Pal Bodor: "On the Eve of a Demonstration"]

[Text] Independent associations in Hungary announced a demonstration in support of Transylvania and of the Hungarian, German, Serbian, Romanian, and other villages in Romania which have been condemned to be destroyed.

Many people fear that provocations might divert the purpose of this torchlight demonstration from its organizers' original, noble, European, and Hungarian intentions.

Is this fear justified?

Unfortunately, it is.

I have seen the original slogans and leaflets, but I also saw false leaflets weeks ago.

Falsifiers inserted sentences and slogans in the original lines which could come just at the right moment for anti-Hungarian slanderers.

What could the bulldozer revolutionaries use to neutralize the street protests in Budapest? What could they use to reverse this torchlight procession and turn it to their own advantage?

If they could prove that hate, thirst for revenge, and imperial nostalgia, rather than justified concern, deep compassion, and indignation, drove the people out into the streets and squares of Budapest, and if they could present a single snapshot as proof of this, they would trumpet it all over the world that an irredentist and chauvinist "Horthy-fascist" demonstration took place here. They could make at least part of the Romanian public opinion believe that this demonstration was directed against them and not for them too.

This is an old trick that has sometimes worked.

We have repeatedly witnessed the official Romanian media deeming the Hungarian protests, despair, and shock over the rudeness of the Romanian policy on national minorities as proof of "Horthyist", "fascist", and "revanchist" passions. We were amazed to read (in a Bucharest central daily) that a well-known Romanian writer who has long been a member of the RCP Central Committee and the parliament in Bucharest called Petofi [Hungarian revolutionary poet] a chauvinist. Although he could not spell Petofi's name correctly, he did twist Petofi's immortal lines "we swear on the Hungarian's God that we will no longer be slaves" and presented it to his Romanian readers by adding that, look, the Hungarians have monopolized even God himself, and demand exclusive treatment even from Him.

Therefore, it would come just at the right moment for the planners of the bulldozer revolution if they could prove—either by means of fabrications or by provocations—that hate, rather than worry, solidarity with Hungarian and non-Hungarian oppressed people, or the desire to defend the ancient, and not so ancient villages, churches, and cemeteries drove the demonstrators out into the streets.

It would come just at the right time for the Romanian officials and would be worth every penny if they could produce a grain of evidence that the Hungarians acted against the Romanian nation and not against tyranny.

According to their leaflets, the initiators of the torchlight procession differentiate quite well between the Romanian nation as a whole and those who planned the destruction and plowing under of 8,000 villages and communities. The organizers are also well aware that the bulldozers and blasting machines started their terrible task in the Romanian capital itself and first destroyed the old churches of orthodox Romanians. The organizers also know that a test site for the destruction of the villages can be seen on the outskirts of Bucharest.

It is true that the demonstrators are taking to the streets now primarily because of their urgent and painful concern for the Hungarian villages in Romania, because they know that a minority is more helpless, defenseless, and fragile; and because they know that this terrible destruction cannot threaten the national existence of the majority of 20 million people because it cannot be assimilated into another nation: A national majority will preserve its language and national identity under any circumstances and even under inhuman conditions. However, under the conditions of an artificial and forced dispersion, a national minority that is cut from its roots, cut from the warmth of its spiritual nest, and deprived of the material witnesses of its past can be further dispersed into oblivion as a national minority, on a road of a forced and artificial diaspora, annihilation of its schools, and a ban on its most sacred town and village names—a road that has been set out for them with open rudeness for years.

However, the demonstrators in Budapest will not confuse the lords of despotism with those who suffer from this despotism, the Romanian nation. These demonstrators also know that the Hungarians of Transylvania

cannot have a separate freedom; their existence will become human and humane when everyone has more freedom. The Hungarians in Transylvania need freedom not against the Romanians but together with them.

Therefore, anyone who utters a single word of hate at this demonstration and who tries to turn this torchlight procession in another direction even for a second—a direction other than defending these people's rights, traditions, and future—is a deliberate provocateur and enemy of the entire Hungarian nation, the people in Hungary, and the Hungarian national minorities abroad, and an enemy of the European spirit. Anyone who does that also wants to provide—deliberately or out of stupidity—proof against the Hungarians and against their spirit of justice and political reason, and new excuses and opportunities for wild retaliations against the Hungarian minority in Romania. By such behavior, one also wants to create or force a situation in which it will no longer be possible to hold such open and just demonstrations.

Let, therefore, the demonstrators be the ones to protect the spiritual honesty and moral integrity of this demonstration. They should identify the people who want to compromise, distort, and besmirch our pain, concern, and indignation, as well as our passion, in defending the Hungarians in Romania. These people might act this way either with deliberate foul intentions, or out of a lack of knowledge and information, and perhaps they do not even know what they are doing. They do not know that, by wrong extremism, they further foreign interests.

The initiators of this demonstration rightly consider any ill-willed questioning of their true efforts to be equivalent to political slander. They will light the torch in the name of the Hungarians' human and European honor, but also for the honest Romanians, in their name and on their behalf.

'Communique' on MSZMP-RCP Exchange of Letters

AU2306144988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jun 88 p 5

["Communique on the Exchange of Letters Between the MSZMP and the RCP"]

[Text] In May 1988, the RCP sent a letter to the MSZMP. In the spirit of the policy it has promoted so far, the Romanian side repeats that the Romanian people's history is falsified and the achievements of the Romanian people and the nationality policy promoted by the Romanian party—which is characterized by the realization of a complete equality of rights—are presented in a distorted way in Hungary. The Romanian side proposes that, first of all, the two party general secretaries should meet in order to review economic relations. The earlier Hungarian proposals are not mentioned in the letter.

The MSZMP has sent its answer to the Romanian party. The response emphasizes that the RCP can count on the MSZMP as a constructive partner in discussing and finding genuine and constructive solutions to their problems, and in ensuring a harmonious development of their mutual relations. In spite of the fact that satisfying the demands of the Hungarians living in the SR of Romania is Romania's problem and responsibility, the general situation of the ethnic Hungarians, developments in their individual and collective rights, the creation of opportunities for their participation in the cooperation with our country, and the concern for ensuring unhampered family relations continue to be important issues for us. We are determined to continue our principled efforts in the future, too.

The MSZMP proposed that the secretaries in the Central Committees of the two parties in charge of foreign affairs should meet as soon as possible and review every detail of Hungarian-Romanian relations. The positive results of the talks would form the basis for preparing the meeting between the general secretaries of the MSZMP and the RCP.

UK's Mellor Comments on Romanian Situation

AU2806121788 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Jun 88 p 3

[MTI report: "British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs David Mellor Holds News Conference—London Is Annoyed With Bucharest"]

[Excerpts] David Mellor, British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, visited Hungary from 18 to 21 June. He participated in and took the floor at a conference organized in Budapest by the FINANCIAL TIMES on the occasion of the newspaper's centennial. [passage omitted]

The REUTER correspondent asked David Mellor to comment on human rights in Hungary. David Mellor said that Hungary was far ahead of the other socialist countries in this respect. [passage omitted]

The correspondent of THE INDEPENDENT asked David Mellor whether it was true that he had rejected an invitation to visit Bucharest. He said that he would like to visit Romania very much but such a visit was not suitable at present because of the unresolved problems caused by the issue of mixed marriages. The Romanian side is rather "narrow minded" in dealing with this issue and does not allow the emigration of Romanians who are married to British citizens, under the pretext of "brain drain". David Mellor said the following: "As long as there is no change on this and other issues in Romania, there is no point in visiting Romania because I do not negotiate with deaf people; there are enough other countries to visit."

28 June Politburo Meeting Proceedings Outlined

LD2806205188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The following news has just arrived: The MSZMP Politburo has discussed the report prepared on the experiences at the beginning of the year, the development of the people's economy, and the proposal which is related to the main directions of next year's people's economy plan.

According to the communique made public at the Politburo session today, they advise that the report be discussed at the next Central Committee session on 13 July.

The Politburo dealt with questions concerning the construction of the Boes-Nagymaros barrage system, and asked the government to make a comprehensive report to the National Assembly on the investment, and on how the work is progressing.

The Politburo listened to a report on the party and KISZ organs in high schools and universities. These organs will examine the possibility of setting up local student organizations. The report also dealt with their functioning, in higher education institutes.

Kotai Discusses Foreign Policy Targets

AU2106113988 Budapest MTI in English 0928 GMT 16 Jun 88

["MAGYAR HIRLAP—Kotai—Hungarian Foreign Policy"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 16/06/1988—Entitled "Hungarian Renewal and Hungarian Foreign Policy", the Thursday MAGYAR HIRLAP carries an article by Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee of the HSWP and head of Foreign Affairs Department at the Central Committee. With regard to the policy statement approved by the HSWP National Conference, raising socialist construction to a higher level and the reform of the system of political institutions, Geza Kotai gives a detailed analysis of the foreign policy targets and major trends of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Among other things he points out: "Our basic endowment of being open cannot be confined to the economy and foreign trade. Our international sensitivity is more apparent in the field of politics, ideology, culture and humanitarian issues. The party conference and its undisputable good international reception confirmed our reputation. In a good sense, Hungary is again in the focus of international interest. This is an important but ephemeral opportunity. Now, not only the domestic but also the international public opinion expects definite action from us.

It adds to our expanding international area of manouvering that due to the reform processes in progress in the socialist countries, our foreign policy endeavours are in accord with the main trend of socialism. It is of determining importance for us that the two largest socialist countries have opted for the road of comprehensive reforms in all walks of life. Though the realization of transformation in the Soviet Union has just started and progress has to overcome significant conservative opposition, taking the reflexes of several decades into consideration, it is impressive how long our Soviet friends have advanced on the road of the tranformation of the political attitude and public conditions. The decade of the consistent Chinese reform is also encouraging. Following some decline, the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party last October gave new impetus to domestic development. At present our domestic construction work can be renewed in an international environment and it is not a unique and isolated practice.

The intensification of East-West dialogue provides a basic and favourable element in the system of conditions for our domestic work. In this context we can state that the detente between two great powers and the results of the latest Moscow summit also contribute to the expansion of the international area of manoeuvering.

"Hungary continues to be committed to raising cooperation in the socialist world system to new foundations and a qualitatively new level, which by no means can bring about closing-in or 'uni-direction'. We are determined to continue to explore the linkage points where we can connect to the economy of the advanced capitalist countries.

"In this respect the effect of the Western European integration process is especially noteworthy. The unified EEC market from 1992 and the politically unifying Western Europe imposes a challenge both for Hungary and the socialist community. This process bears the danger of strengthening the economic and technological division of Europe, and that the difference of development between the two parts of Europe grows, deeply affecting our national interests. This is why we seek to deepen many-faceted cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe, based on our common interests.

The experience gained by the socialist countries in their seeking a way is particularly important for us to realize our plans confirmed by the party conference. At the same time we also have to make use of the well-proved and successful methods in countries of a differing social system. There are economic and management methods that are not system-specific which we do not have to rediscover. The elements of differing political systems that can be utilized, such as conflict-handling mechanisms and social dialogue patterns, are also worth studying. We have to get accustomed to the fact that also people in Hungary can hold different views, and the dialogue with them can be the yeast of development towards a common target. "It remains a basic requirement for us that all way-seeking and experiment be conducted on the basis of socialism, within its framework and in the interest of realizing its targets.

"The lasting and topical task of our foreign policy is to follow the fate of Hungarians living outside our borders with attention and to provide care for them, which does not mean narrow but wide horizons.

"On the basis of our policy of principle we only want to continue our previous endeavours to eliminate the heightening of tension, the discrimination, forced assimilation, and the obstacles partly inherited from the past, and partly newly erected. We call for safeguards for the assertion of the individual and collective rights of the nationalities.

"Our public opinion is particularly concerned over the unjust situation of the Hungarians living in Romania. The anxiety is underlined by the fact that many of them had to leave their homeland. We find it natural that looking for a solution from their ordeals they first turn to us. To establish basic conditions for their life and work is the task of the government. We are aware of the fact that emigration cannot solve the problems of nationalities. We hope that in line with the gaining ground of the new trends in socialism, this tension can also be settled on the basis of civilized norms and Leninist principles. To this end we continue to be ready for dialogue.

National Assembly Begins Summer Session

LD2906091288 Budapest MTI in English 0840 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—The summer session of the Hungarian National Assembly opened on Wednesday morning.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front forwarded joint personnel proposals on filling leading posts of the Presidential Council. Deputies are to make a decision on the proposal and then are expected to discuss the report on the implementation of the 1987 national budget as the first point of the planned agenda.

Imre Poszgay Comments on Political Reform

NEW STATESMAN Interview

PM0706132588 London NEW STATESMAN in English 27 May 88 pp 21-22

[Report on interview with MSZMP Politburo member Imre Poszgay by Mary Kaldor: "Poszgay—Hungary's Man of the Hour"—date and place not given]

[Text] "We have gone farther than Czechoslovakia in 1968. What was destabilising in 1968 is a factor for stability in 1988," Imre Poszgay, Hungary's leading reformist—and now probably no. 2 in the hierarchy—told the Western media immediately after the weekend's tumultuous events. Poszgay, 52, has been openly pressing for reform since last year as leader of the People's Patriotic Front—a state-run umbrella organisation for a variety of intellectual and religious groups.

Poszgay is already being feted by the Western press as a "radical" reformist of heretical views (see, for example, Monday's INDEPENDENT). A Hungarian intellectual gave me a more sceptical view: "He is the man of the hour. Because he offers some possibilities to established intellectuals who don't want to lose their job, their car or their house in the country, but would like to be able to express some critical views, to be more honest intellectually."

Meeting him made me aware of the limits to the space the reform tendency in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party offers the Hungarian people. Poszgay is the party's thinker. He has thought through the implications of political reform, but his thinking remains firmly within the Bolshevik tradition. Radical possibly, heretical no; Poszgay is above all a pragmatic politician who is perhaps most accurately described as the best reformist that Hungary has.

I interviewed Poszgay before the dramatic conference which promoted him to the party's ruling Politburo—at a time when he would naturally be cautious. I asked him first about the possibilities of political pluralism in Hungary. He replied that pluralism already existed. Hungary had become more equal socially over the past 40 years, with a growing middle class and a more complex division of labour. "These tendencies have resulted in a complicated system of interests; pluralism is present in the public consciousness, both in the articulation of these interests and on a level of ideology." But political reforms in 1985 to introduce "the principle of representation" had proved primitive and contradictory, he said. "The political insttutions still work as though this pluralism did not exist."

Poszgay explained:

Political reform has to transcend this situation. The reason why political reform has always been a very delicate question is that people tend to think in terms of a party system; they conceive of reform in terms of liberal democracy. But this approach has two disadvantages. It frightens those people who at present defend the existing political system. And it gives illusions to radical groups. There is one strategic point that one cannot overlook here in this society. Both the internal political situation and our internatonal ties require that any process of change should be based on stability. The level of integration that society has achieved so far should be viewed as a basic precondition and not as something to be destroyed.... The political reform cannot have another starting point; otherwise it might unleash all sorts of uncontrollable processes.

The question, of course, arises: Is this starting-point obvious enough for the public and would it be accepted? It might be considered too little to satisfy their expectations. Are we in time or are we late? In this respect, this year will be crucial. [Poszgay ends]

Central to reform is self-organisation. "We should open up the gates for people organising themselves. Let's make self-organisation and civil initiatives into a basic right for the Hungarian people." However, this self-organisation would take plce within certain limits. "The only obstacle that is legitimate is the Hungarian Constitution. This specifically means that socialism and our international relationships (ie, the Warsaw Pact) should be accepted. This is the constitutional basis. But all the rest should be open to debate, including very basic questions of politics.

"This self-organization and social mobility, in the way I have defined it, would act in the direction of stability. This might sound paradoxical. It would provide time to reform the institutions, especially their hierarchical and vertical character. This includes representative bodies, the relationship between the party and the state, and the relationship between the citizen and the state."

How would self-organisation work in practice? How would I, for example, start an ecological club? He explained that I would have to prepare a draft statute for the association which would have to be examined by a court of law. The court would register the club if there were sufficient members and the statutes did not clash with the two basic constitutional principles (i.e., socialism and the Warsaw Pact). "The court is not supposed to make poitical judgments."

Suppose then that my club is registered and wanted to organise a demonstration against the proposal for a hydroelectric plant on the Danube (an expensive project that will destroy much beautiful countryside)? What then? Well, that would be possible—provided that the demonstration kept to the issue and the club guaranteed that nobody would give speeches undermining socialism.

But what is socialism? Surely self-organisation must provide some control, some independent check on the activities of the state? Yet registration meant control over self-organisation. If one of the governing principles is "respect for socialism", is not this open to abuse, to very broad interpretation of the law?

"Yes," he said, "and I know that you have just posed the most difficult question. The reason why I am beating around the bush is that I would not want to put my vote on one particular definition of socialism. It is exactly these rigid definitions that have become bankrupt over the last few years. I regard socialism, on the basis of Marx, as a political movement which is characterised by always transcending the present situation."

I pressed him on what might be tolerated in his scheme and what not? What about a club to push for conscientious objection, in Hungary and in other socialist countries? That would be all right, although he added that Hungary was rather tolerant about conscientious objection, and already allowed alternative civil service for religious objectors.

Even so, many conscientious objectors are in prison in Hungary because they object to military service on political grounds. What about a club for international solidarity which may organise a demonstration in support of dissidents in Czechoslovakia? No, that would contradict Hungary's international relationships and provide arguments for the opponents of reform.

And what about Solidarity? Is that a good example of an independent trade union? He thought that Solidarity had held out a lot of promise. But it exercised enormous influence without having an internal control system, and so became extremist and "unfit for power". That was the reason for its defeat." The necessary control could be exercised through registration and representation in parliament.

Poszgay has taken a strong stand in favour of independent publishing. He argued that the state should not manage or control the press and the Communist Party should restrict itself to controlling the party press. There would, he explained, be a press law which would allow magazines and books to be published as long as they conform to the Constitution. Could Beszelo. the widely read samizdat journal of the democratic opposition, be published? "I don't think they keep within the law. They transcend these consensus limits."

Then he corrected himself. "But you shouldn't take what I say for granted, I'm not sufficiently familiar with these publications. I haven't got enough information to say anything judgmental about Beszelo. I might be unjust."

Rumour has it that Poszgay, like many other officials, is in fact a regular reader of opposition journals.

I asked about his ideas for parliamentary representation. In 1985, a new election law allowed independent candidates. But in practice, independents like Laszlo Rajk, a leading figure in the democratic opposition, were prevented by all kinds of party manoeuvres, such as packing nomination meetings with the workers' militia.

Poszgay thinks that it is important that critical people should be allowed to stand for election. "It's dangerous to leave them outside. Provided, of course, that such critical people accept the minimum consensus—there should be no obstacle to being elected...."

"We have to make the principle of representation clearer. Certain forms of representation and certain positions should be guaranteed. We should strengthen the parliament in its capacity as a legislative body and in

its capacity as a check or control on the state. It should be a forum for the development of policy and political culture. If there are open debates in parliament, this would benefit the public."

But is it possible to strengthen parliament without a multi-party system? "I would rely on these representatives of special interests. The party should withdraw from these everyday interests. The party members themselves are divided according to different interests. There is the heavy industry party, the agricultural party, the intellectual party."

Would not this lead to a certain poverty of debate? Political parties have many defects, but still it is surely important to talk about ideas and ideology?

[Poszgay] Their arguments are political and not ideological. In principle, I see no obstacles to the creation of a multi-party system under socialism. Indeed, Marx says that where there are no parties and no division of opinion, there can be no progress. I am concerned about political exigencies—the need to preserve stability and the integration of society achieved so far. Any objection to the leading role of the party would be destabilising. That is why I think that one of the most crucial points is the renewal of the party. We need a party that is able to accept new ideas and to solve problems. It needs a built-in political mentality which does not resist unavoidable problems but tries to confront them. [Poszgay ends]

Finally, I asked for his views on perestroyka and glasnost? In my view, both for socialism and for Hungary, perestroyka and glasnost are positive developments. Not as a model, but as a method. Perestroyka is a radical and comprehensive overall reform, which is methodologically different from what we did earlier. We had to start with particulars. Glasnost is of enormous significance theoretically, but also much more in a practical sense because it can line up the intellectuals behind the reform."

However, he said, Hungary was farther advanced than the Soviet Union with such reforms. "I emphasize again, perestroyka is not a model. God save us from models again. It is interesting as a method that grabs society in its totality. That's what our reforms never achieved. They were introduced piecemeal. Our circumstances in Hungary are similar to a joke you might have heard. We decide to switch to traffic on the left. But we have to do it gradually—first the bus drivers, then the taxi drivers, then everybody else. This is impossible. We, too, have to formulate a new approach for the whole system. Perestroyka provides a good international background. The chaotic way that we proceeded here was influenced by the international situation (ie, Soviet pressure). Perestroyka gives us autonomy, the opportunity to decide for ourselves."

Poszgay's ideas on political pluralism clearly put a lot of emphasis on control and stability. He wants "self-organisation" and parliamentary representation, but within the limits—the acceptance of socilism, of the Warsaw Pact and the leading role of the Party—that make it difficult to envisage real checks on state power. When pressed on his contradiction, he ephasised the tactical nature of his thinking.

"The moment you accomplish something, you open up new issues and questions.... If I formulate my own limits in expressing my views, a much wider space is opened up than exists at present. Within this range, I have very definite views about things, but beyond that it should be left to life and time to decide.

"I am concerned about exigencies in politics. Hungarian political thinking is either very pragmatic in a limited way, or it is based on illusions. There is no communication between these two approaches. What we are really missing is action."

NEPSZABADSAG Interview

AU2206144088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jun 88 p 5

[Interview with MSZMP Politburo member and PPF General Secretary Imre Pozsgay by Laszlo Hovanyecz: "The Party Is the Guarantee for Our Renewal"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Hovanyecz] When was the last time you gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG?

[Pozsgay] I do not remember. I have written articles, but I do not remember ever giving an interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

[Hovanyecz] What is the reason behind this?

[Pozsgay] At times, political reservations played a role in this.

[Hovanyecz] When was this?

[Pozsgay] Mostly during the last 5 or 6 years.

[Hovanyecz] In other words, all the time you have headed the PPF.

[Pozsgay] That is correct. Perhaps the idea was that the PPF general secretary had plenty of forums for publicity at his disposal, like the PPF daily, and others.

[Hovanyecz] Let us change the subject! How do you feel as a newly elected member of the MSZMP Politburo?

[Pozsgay] I do not feel triumphant but I do feel a certain amount of satisfaction because I think that the confidence invested in me and my election to the Politburo are part of the changes that took place in the party and society prior to the party conference and during the party conference.

[Hovanyecz] In other words, you regard this phenomenon as a change?

[Pozsgay] Yes, I do, in the sense I expressed in my speech at the party conference, namely that things can no longer continue in the old way. Therefore, the country can no longer be led in the old way. In my opinion, it is also a change that, while the efforts of the country's leadership were for a long time directed mainly toward solving economic problems even after the 13th MSZMP Congress, the recent party conference focused on the interpretation of the party's leading role and on the reorganization of the country's political institutions.

[Hovanyecz] There are various evaluations nowadays of the party conference; some consider it as the end of a period, and others consider it as the beginning of one. What do you think?

[Pozsgay] I consider it both an end and a beginning. The large direct participation of party members in the preparations for the conference indicated the beginning of a new era, and at the same time the end of an era, in which often the party member's only duty was to approve and carry out the decisions made by the leadership. I think that the fact that the party public opinion and indirectly the public opinion at large were constantly present at the party conference show the beginning of a new era in our party democracy too. Perhaps the organizational consequences of this new era are still awaiting implementation because it will probably be the task of the 14th MSZMP Congress to draw the necessary consequences; however, I find all this extremely important.

[Hovanyecz] If you allow me, I would like to return to personal matters, which, of course, are not just personal. I think that the public opinion regards your momentary position as one of "hic rodos, hic salta," that is, now is the time to show what you can do. What is your opinion: Has your political scope increased or decreased since your election to the Politburo?

[Pozsgay] It has both increased and decreased. It has increased because now I have more direct opportunities to participate in the fundamental decisionmaking process. It has decreased because I have now less opportunity to ask for the support of the general public in implementing my ideas. Of course, the reason for this does not lie in the Politburo. It is only natural that there must be unity in the leading body of a country on basic issues. I accepted this when I declared that I would represent my own ideas in this body. And this also means that on certain issues, I will have to act in accordance with this body's uniform opinion, and not according to my relationship with public opinion. There is a risk involved here concerning the evaluation of my own person.

[Hovanyecz] In other words, this position involves greater chances of becoming unpopular?

[Pozsgay] Yes, it does, and since there are greater chances of this, there will be times when I will have to appeal to the previous experiences and confidence the public had in me in order to make myself understood. However, in the final analysis, and in the longterm, I hope that the public opinion and the Politburo will be able to advance together without problems or major conflicts, all the more so because the Politburo wants to meet the expectations of the society.

Of course, we will often have to initiate agonizing measures that will lead to dissatisfaction. Therefore, the Politburo needs confidence very much. Without confidence and the personal trust of the people who work here, one cannot count on support from the general public. However, this public can become impatient and demand results too fast. Therefore, I think that through dialogue with all society can the necessary confidence be maintained. No matter how difficult it is for us who participate in the activity of this body, such confidence is needed so people will know that we do not identify with all the deeds of the previous era; if we do not do this, we will be responsible for making decisions to correct the mistakes of the previous phase.

[Hovanyecz] In your opinion, could Hungarian society have developed better in recent decades than it actually did?

[Pozsgay] In my view, yes it could have, although it is true that there were serious external problems here too. On the socialist side, for example, a certain compelling model and the creation of certain coordinated forms of activity hindered the development of Hungarian reform, but I think we also exaggerated the importance of these obstacles. In this respect, I consider the events of 1972 and 1974 to be particularly important. Concerning personnel decisions, one could of course not disregard the existence of external factors at the time, but these factors could also be used as a deterrent, as certain sectarian and dogmatic forces actually did.

Since the majority of socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, were at the time in a phase of mistaken identity [formacioteveszte]—because one can say that it is a serious mistake to call developed socialism a society which answers, at most, to Marx's description of rudimentary communism or the communism of distribution—this in itself also determined the attitude of the other socialist countries. But if I think that as early as 1966 it was possible to formulate the basic principles of a relatively radical reform, then I feel now that there was some timidity on the part of the reformers too. The way

I see it, they exaggerated the tactics slightly, in the reform offensive between 1966-68, followed by a hidden and a stealthy one, to make sure that nobody would find out what it was that we really wanted, and therefore, communications with people were also halted on this issue, claiming that it was the task of the leadership to produce results. People would have supported this program if they had felt it was good, that the standard of living would increase, and so on. I also think the negative reflexes were the consequences of the same mistaken identity, as in the case when following the oil price explosion and the first serious deterioration in our terms of trade, we said that this crisis would not spiral up because the regime itself was the guarantee of this, whereas the real guarantee lay in a political decision that would have led to adjustments to the changes. I see the problems here in the fact that the voluntaristic elements have always been present in the political history of our party, even when the leadership—on a subjective basis and according to its commitments—did not want to be voluntaristic.

[Hovanyecz] Could we, nevertheless, establish some sort of proportion between the international influence and our own mistakes?

[Pozsgay] No doubt the effects of two international factors can hardly be exaggerated. One is the world economic crisis and change itself; and the other one is the mistaken self-contemplation and self-evaluation of the socialist countries, and the subsequent need for solidarity among themselves. A domestic sectarian and dogmatic group which made use of all this was able to join this process, and this group also had the advantage that throughout the party's entire history, this group had always felt at home, and this slightly weakened the reformers who lacked the proper determination and strength to turn to the public opinion.

[Hovanyecz] Can we then say that while we were declaring the existence of a mythical unity of the party, during the same period we had factions in the party, which led among other things, to the present situation?

[Pozsgay] Even if there had been no factions because they were unable to get organized, surely there were various trends that took up the characteristics of factions in certain respects, because there was some coordination and collaboration between the members of a certain trend. I would like to add, however, that by this, I am not criticizing these trends, but the fact that we regarded them as non-existent.

[Hovanyecz] Openness is one of the key words of your speeches and writings. Do you consider this openness to be a suitable means of avoiding distortions in the party life?

[Pozsgay] I consider this openness to be the most suitable means for this. Openness is the best form of supervision and calling to account. I will repeat what I could say even at the 13th MSZMP Congress. At this conference, I quoted Lenin when I said that it is indispensable for non-party members to also supervise the party. But how should they supervise the party if it is not acting publicly? I believe, therefore, that anything that occurs within the party is not just its internal affair because we want to be a party of the nation. Let me also add here that we have been referring to the Leninist norms repeatedly, but who thought even in Lenin's time, that the toughest party debates and Central Committee debates would be carried out in PRAVDA columns? And who remembered the fact that during the trade union debates, it was Lenin himself who ordered the apparatus to print 250,000 copies of their enemy's platform in order to enable the party organizations to study them prior to making a decision following a debate?

[Hovanyecz] In the spirit of this openness, can you imagine the emergence of freedom of platforms within the party?

[Pozsgay] Since various trends are really present, the creation of freedom of platforms is a logical consequence and a decisive requirement from the viewpoint of the party life. If we fail to confirm this in the form of a proposal for a change in the statute by the 14th MSZMP Congress, we will be unable to defend our position of a single party that accepts the responsibility for governing society. Only a democratic party can do this, a party whose unity is not reflected by a monolithic organization and a mythical party unity.

Now, we must repeat for those who protest similar declarations that, whether we want it or not and whether we ban them or not, trends will inevitably be present in a party with several hundred thousand members.

[Hovanyecz] In one of his recent declarations, the general secretary of our party said that your task in the Politburo would be to lead the reexamination of the program declaration of the 11th MSZMP Congress in 1975, and to head a committee made up of experts from various bodies and try to submit a new draft program for 2 decades. What is your opinion about this work and what is, in your view, the essence of this work?

[Pozsgay] If the Central Committee approves it at its next session, then, according to the Politburo proposal, I will indeed head this work committee.

This task has two essential parts. One is the historical analysis. This requires objectiveiy revealing the facts. Although the subject matter is the last 2 decades, I already feel that the whole period following our liberation should be the subject of this reexamination. It is impossible to understand the last 20 years without thoroughly understanding the last 4 decades. As for the other part of this task, the issue here is the new program. I think of two types of activity within this program. On

the one hand, we must work out the basic political concepts of the 14th MSZMP Congress, and, on the other hand, we must outline the prospects for 2 decades.

[Hovanyecz] Can we have some details about this program for the next 2 decades?

[Pozsgay] I think that in this program we can speak in detail about ways to make Hungarian society the possession of citizens who are capable of self-determination. Therefore, it can be a program for the creation of a socialist constitutional state and the implementation of socialist pluralism.

[Hovanyecz] In your view, what is the meaning of the concept of "socialist pluralism"?

[Pozsgay] The existence of pluralism in socialism is an undeniable fact and it is no use to argue about it because social communities are at the same time also communities of interests, communities different from each other. They are communities that represent differing interests and which embody different political endeavors. Therefore, we are talking about a social pluralism here. The real question is whether socialism has suitable political institutions for this pluralism. In my opinion, the current system of political institutions still carries monolithic traditions even if this is no longer the subjective political intention. This is the reason for the above-mentioned voluntaristic mistakes. Therefore, we must create institutions for the sharing, supervision, and maintenance of power, as well as for many other things.

[Hovanyecz] In other words, if I understand correctly, all this means in practice that the extent of socialist pluralism depends on the extent of political institutions for social pluralism that exists in everyday life.

[Pozsgay] Yes, this is correct, and this would lead to a much stronger society than the present one which often lacks solidarity and readiness to cooperate. However, I cannot imagine a situation in which one can say, well, we had an economic reform before, so now we will have a political one. I kept on stressing that there would be no development without the reform of political institutions. The two must go hand in hand and both areas must share greater responsibility than before. The most important requirement is that the political institutions should not only answer for the implementation of decisions, but also take responsibility for these decisions.

[Hovanyecz] In connection with the party conference, our correspondent in Tokyo asked Japanese public figures their opinions the other day. One of them said that the requirements for freedom and democracy, for increasing efficiency, for improving quality, and for competitiveness can be coordinated only with great difficulty. If the Hungarians meet this challenge, this will be extremely valuable for mankind. These Japanese politicians say that it is extremely difficult to simultaneously develop democracy and an efficient economy.

[Pozsgay] Yes, this is extremely difficult, but one cannot give it up. If we succeed, another thing might also become clear, namely that socialism can become the freest society. We must only approach things from the right side. In other words, socialism does not depend on some utopian special mission group which considers itself a trustee, but on the support and cooperation of the people. Only a free society can provide such support and cooperation, and suddenly it might become clear that nothing in this freedom is threatening the pillars of socialism.

[Hovanyecz] Let us speak a little more about working out the new party program. So far, you have mentioned its political aspects. What economic goals can such a program outline?

[Pozsgay] In my opinion, we must analyze the property relations of the economy very thoroughly. Of course, I do not regard this as solely an economic issue, but the first consequences of such an analysis are economic in nature. As for the property relations, first of all we must do away here with the fetishism of state property, which for example, was still present in the party program of 1975. Besides, Marx always considered state property to be the most primitive form of common property, and even wrote somewhere that state property is nothing but common private property.

It differs from private property only in the fact that there is competition envy prevailing there, while in the case of state property, there is distribution envy.

It is true, however, that we have also had bad experiences with public property based on self-management. It can also happen here that distribution competition comes to the fore and one need not describe the catastrophic consequences of such a situation. I must also add that we must eliminate the hierarchy among various forms of property because in certain respects, the current phase of socialism is still one of capital, a phase in which relations between goods, prices, and the market can emerge only if capital is also able to move and change places. Therefore, we cannot disregard private property and state property either, but public property should prevail. In connection with this, a program can provide much more detailed economic policy proposals without directly determining this economic policy.

[Hovanyecz] I think public opinion is mostly interested in whether this program can outline any goals for the standard of living.

[Pozsgay] I think it can. Partly because by the time this program becomes timely, hopefully we will have covered most of the stabilization phase. At least one thing must be made perceptible in the period of stabilization. We must reach the point in which intellectual work is appreciated and intellectual life becomes creative, including the entire educational system.

This program will also be promising from other aspects of the standard of living. This promise will be cautious in the first half of the nineties, but perhaps it will become more courageous and have more incentive from the mid-nineties. I think that this program up to 2010 will set the goal of freeing the country from the present serious problems.

[Hovanyecz] You mean also freeing us from the prison of our debts?

[Pozsgay] I mean both freeing us from our debts and from stagnation. I also mean halting our advance toward the periphery of economic development.

[Hovanyecz] Concerning its composition, the Politburo of which you have become a member is a radically renewed body. In your view, how does it differ from the previous one?

[Pozsgay] It is different primarily because of the experiences of the different generations. Different social experiences of a different generation are present here, which has disadvantages too, because this breaks up the continuity slightly. It also has advantages, however, in not being subordinated to the experiences and methods of the previous era. By this I do not intend to disregard the performance of the previous era, particularly if I consider the overall performance of the last 3 decades. I would like to stress that there is a considerable difference in generations here. It is not certain that the previous generation understood everything we want to do. It is also possible that we do not understand everything about the previous generation either, but our relations are characterized by mutual respect and tolerance.

[Hovanyecz] An outsider sees this body as a multifaceted one and consequently one engaged in debates. How can unity derive from this multifaceted body engaged in debates?

[Pozsgay] I also consider this body multifaceted, thank heavens, it is multifaceted. I hope that the public will also feel this, although there are still many people who grew up accepting obscurity and saw it as the guarantee of unity, and these people will perhaps be surprised and even protest at the beginning. But they also must know that this Politburo is united and able to lead because these people who differ on many issues, do agree on the basic issue of the need for a change, for reform, and for the creation of a socialist society which is advancing toward a new model. I think that there is no difference of opinion among the members of the Politburo that this will be the main direction of our policy for the foreseeable future. Therefore, this is a body of correct people who are ready for discussions, and whatever they achieve through these debates and consensus, they will represent. I think this is enough of a guarantee for society.

[Hovanyecz] At the party conference, you concluded your speech with a very positive sentence: Hungarian development will take place. What did you mean by this concluding sentence?

[Pozsgay] At that forum I meant that the party would have a new leadership which would be able to adjust to the party history so that it renews the party simultaneously. If the party is able to renew itself and adjusts its internal structure to this requirement, then it can shift from constantly being in a defensive position, to an offensive position. From a political viewpoint, through a dialogue with society, we can start shaping a new consensus. For me, this is both a guarantee and promise for the future.

[Hovanyecz] Then, you consider the party to be the main guarantee for development and renewal?

[Pozsgay] Precisely.

[Hovanyecz] Thank you for the interview.

Central Council of Trade Union Meets 21 June

LD2106180788 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—As reported, the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions held a session on Tuesday. The session was attended by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Council of the HSWP and member of the Political Committee.

As the first point of its agenda the session decided on personnel questions.

On their own request, due to their retirement, with recognition of their merits and appreciating their service, the Central Council relieved from their posts Sandor Gaspar, as president of SZOT and member of the Presidium and Secretariat, and Tibor Baranyi, as general secretary and member of the Presidium and Secretariat.

The Central Council has elected Dr Sandor Nagy, former secretary, as general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions.

The session discussed forwardings [as received] on the trade unions' concept on the wage policy reform, and topical issues of holidays organized by the trade unions. The two written forwardings were complemented orally by Sandor Nagy.

Sandor Nagy pointed to the significant role the trade unions play in the process of renewal. What is required is firm determined economic management, clear and strict requirements and strong, determined and responsible trade unions, he said.

He analyzed in detail the current economic situation of the country, pointing at the country's threatening accruement of convertible debt, the high deficit of the national budget, and the inequilibrium detectable in several fields between performance and income. Under such circumstances a series of restrictive and curtailing measures have been taken, but they failed to increase efficiency and did not bring about a turn in the economy. The consumer price index of the first five months suggests that inflation can be kept around the envisaged level or at least not radically above it.

The trade union movement pays particular attention to the situation of the social strata whose income is significantly below the average. According to the central statistical office, the per capita social minimum (the sum calculated for the maintenance of existence adjusted to the present social situation) is 4010 forints, and the subsistence level (the sum necessary for existence) is 3290 forints. With pensioners the sums are 3610, and 3020 forints respectively.

The trade union movement has to elaborate alternatives and socio-policy programmes. and a trade union bill also has to be worked out. The Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions suggests that a conference be held this autumn to answer the problems the country is facing and to specify tasks.

The elaboration of wage reform needs lengthy preparations. The trade unions start from the recognition that over the recent decade, incomes of the official worktime has devaluated and in the same period real income has decreased by 17 percent and the economic inequilibrium has become permanent. The government has also realized this situation, but the almost annual change in income regulations has not lived up to expectations. For years the trade unions have been calling for the establishment of the system of wage bargaining based on the reconciliation of interests. The introduction of personal taxation has also directed attention on the tensions. Under such circumstances the movement has urged the elaboration and realization of wage reform.

According to the trade unions the present income regulation should be substituted by genuine wage bargaining. Such a model cannot be introduced before 1990, but we have to move to this direction as early as next year. The wage policy proposed by the trade unions is centered around the possible protection of real wages. To offset the rise in the price of basic commodities everybody is entitled to a certain rise in wages.

The proposals of the government also envisages the soonest possible introduction of wage reform. The trade union cannot object to the high priority objective of the government's wage policy aimed at increasing efficiency. The proposals of the government also include some extremes in the question of wage bargaining. According to the trade unions wage bargaining should take place on each level and not only on the level of companies, or branches or national economy.

The policy statement of the party conference also reflects that acknowledging the autonomy of trade unions and avoiding any interference, the party is seeking to establish partner relations with the trade unions in order to tackle the problems facing society, said the general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Nagy Queried on Union Issues

LD2206100988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1705 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Interview with Sandor Nagy, National Council of Trade Unions general secretary, by Attila Balint; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Balint] Dr Sandor Nagy has been elected National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] general secretary, with 182 votes for and one vote against him. This is a sweeping majority. But if we are acquainted with the thinking that preceded this—and we are acquainted with it, with the fact that the names of several nominees came up in the course of preparations—then in my view two things follow from this: The outcome of the vote indicates trust; and the fact that several names were mentioned shows that there are suitable people in the trade union, or that you are not the only one considered suited for this office. What are your conclusions from this?

[Nagy] Well, one of my conclusions is the same as yours. Because if only one person out of this 4,500,000-strong organization were suited for the office of general secretary, then I think we would be in a very bad state. Naturally, there is no question of this. Here the national council made this decision after weighing up the possible recommendations. For my part I can see this only as an act of trust, trust given in advance. [passage omitted]

[Balint] Well then, let us get on with our topic. One generally evaluates the work of the trade union on the basis of two things: one is at the enterprise—and also the national—level: the way incomes and salaries develop. The other is the way prices develop. There is a conflict, which is becoming stronger, between employees and employers. The trade union tries to find its place—I feel it is still trying to find its place—somewhere in this conflict situation.

[Nagy] Without doubt people generally evaluate it on this basis. Though I have to add that it is not the trade union that creates either prices or wages. In my opinion what one can expect of a trade union is how it can represent as successfully as possible the interests of its members, taking into account all possible points of view. This of course cannot be independent of time and place, and it cannot break away from the realities. For it is no good for the trade union movement, let us say in Hungary today, saying that by next year real wages will

have to rise by 20 percent. Maybe this sounds good for one day, and people will say that, well, this is a firm, determined, trade union. But the day after that everyone will realize that naturally this is unrealistic, and in fact it will cause more harm than good.

Therefore, it will have to stand on the ground of realities. This is in all events important. In my view the administration has room to maneuver, albeit not too much, and the trade union movement also has room to maneuver, if...

[Balint] Let me interrupt you here.

[Nagy] Yes?

[Balint] Does there exist a valid SZOT stance to the effect that insofar as the price level goes beyond 15 percent the SZOT will ask for that to be set off? A few days ago I heard a statement from a deputy finance minister which contained the remark that this year's price level will be around 16-17 percent. What offset is SZOT asking for?

[Nagy] From the point of view of the trade union it is not the prices in themselves which are of interest, but the development of real wages. At present we are of the view that, unless some unusual change takes place in the price level, the development of real wages will be close to that planned. Since there does not exist, in the case of welfare benefits and social security allowances, that degree of movement as in the case of wages, no matter how small a divergence crops up in the price level, it immediately causes a fall in real value there.

For this reason, for example this 100-forint rise in family allowance, which was developed after a long debate, as we know, and which would first and foremost serve to offset the cost of children's clothing, but which contains other things as well, this is such a step, for example. However, I do not consider this issue to be thereby closed. We shall have to return to this at the appropriate time.

[Balint] Let me quote two figures: one is 4,010, and the other is 3,290 forints. The first is the social minimum, and the second is the minimum of subsistence. I will confess that I heard these two figures for the first time today. Would I be right to say that these two figures have in some way entered the core of trade union work?

[Nagy] Without a doubt. It is no accident that you say you heard this for the first time today. For I believe that although such calculations did exist earlier, generally these calculations did not become public. These facts are now things which we have to take very seriously in estimating planning work, the development of wages, pensions, and welfare provisions.

[Balint] But if I, as a trade union member, am confronted with the two data, and it turns out that I am living around the social minimum, or—God forbid—around the minimum of subsistence, if I hear these two figures, then straight away I ask myself: what can I do? Should I turn to my enterprise trade union steward? Should I write a letter to you as the new general secretary? Or should I knock on the doors of other trade union officials?

[Nagy] The question is absolutely justified. For two things are needed for a subsistence minimum, or a social minimum, to become the core of welfare policy, of the welfare system, in any society. First of all, they have to be calculated, and one has to start making use of them in planning. Second, the material means are needed so that, if these figures enter the picture, then we should be able to gradually adapt certain minimum provisions to them. It would be very bad if as a result of this interview we were to make anyone think that since these two figures have been mentioned here that as of tomorrow this would be the minimum in every kind of minimal provision, whether it is a question of pensions, or of minimum wage, and that as of tomorrow it would be adjusted everywhere. I only wish that it could. But this would require very many billions of forints. For this very reason I do not want either to overestimate or underestimate the fact that we have embarked on this path. This is our determined endeavor. But this will require a certain amount of time.

[Balint] You used an expression—and at the SZOT session someone even asked you to explain this expression—that is, program of liberalization, if for no other reason than that it seems to contain quite a lot of things, from inflation to unemployment.

[Nagy] Yes. Well, in actual fact I did not invent this expression; I only borrowed it. It is very difficult to speak about its details today, since the details have not been worked out. However, one comes across a few remarks which describe the program of liberalization as a leap in the dark. Now then, I believe, and I believe this very seriously, that neither the government nor the trade union movement can really take part in such experiments, that is, to take a leap in the dark. One has to see clearly the consequences, which may not be favorable but which have to be undertaken in the interest of a more rapid structural transformation and a more rapid emergence from our present problems. But this is not the same as to say: Let us take a leap in the dark.

[Balint] Are you of the view that a wage reform will have to be carried out not only if all the material conditions for it are in place, but that one will have to begin much sooner—that is, now or, if you like, yesterday—partly to improve wage relations and partly to bring into wage regulation reform elements which will lead us to the developemnt of a new kind of wage policy?

[Nagy] A wage reform has to be not the result of an economic upswing but a condition of the economic upswing. For this reason our decisive opinion is that in 1989 we will have to make a start with the steps leading to a full wage reform. And for the trade unions a central issue in this connection is that we should go over to a system of wage agreements, for it is our conviction that this more than any other previous method would make it possible for us to better represent the interests of employees.

[Balint] You mentioned several times that the trade unions also in some way must take a share, must find their place, not only in bringing the conflicts to the surface but also in their handling. You are carrying a whole lot of unsettled debates. I think I will not offend the SZOT members if I say that some of these opinions were expressed years ago, and for years maybe this body has not drawn conclusions from the fact that the economy has changed and that policies are changing.

[Nagy] In my opinion, not only does this not offend, but there is nothing exceptional about it, because I would like to add that not just SZOT but, in my view, all of this society has for years been carrying unfinished, undebated, sentences. For years we have not faced up to problems which are the consequences of the fact that we have embarked on very important changes in the economy, in the system of institutions, in social mechanisms. But it so often happened to us in the past decade that, because we lacked time, we had to do things more quickly than their consequences, their effects, would have required. For this reason people very often felt that the thing was not precisely the same at the outset as the consequence which they later encountered. This fear and anxiety are still at work today in everyone, individually and corporately.

[Balint] What is your conflict toleration?

[Nagy] If I feel and am convinced that we are right on a given issue, then I think that it is very great. If I am uncertain on the given issue, then it is smaller. And the less confident I am, the smaller it is.

Fund Allotted To Reward Technical Workers

AU2206124088 Budapest MTI in English 1513 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 20/06/1988—This year the Hungarian Government is to provide central wage policy support for construction companies whose staff of technical professionals exceeds 20 per cent of the total workforce, it was announced by Endre Szucs, deputy minister of construction and urban development, at the Monday board session of the Trade Union of Construction, Timber and Construction Material Industrial Workers. Twenty-four design, investment and research organizations under the ministry have been granted a total of 10 million forints for a basic wage rise free of tax for use as of July 1. The annual basic wage of technical workers can be raised by an average 3.5 per cent. The aim is to reward outstanding performance. The upper limit of the wage rise will be decided by the companies.

PZPR Politburo Hails Moscow CPSU Conference

LD2806201288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has sent warm fraternal greetings and wishes for fruitful deliberations to the delegates at the Moscow conference. It expressed the conviction that the resolutions of the Soviet Communists' forum would form an important contribution in the development of the theory and practice of socialist construction, a bold restructuring releasing the creative forces of the party and the Soviet nation.

The Politburo also discussed the course of the campaign and the results of the elections to the people's councils. It familiarized itself with the propositions for directions of change in the party's social policy. It approved and highly assessed the agreement accepted during Wojciech Jaruzelski's and Erich Honecker's talks in Wroclaw. It spoke of the significance of the Friendship Treaty of Polish and GDR youth which was signed. The Politburo also familiarized itself with the course and results of Zbigniew Messner's visit to China.

Press Comments on Conference

LD2906095388 Warsaw PAP in English 0001 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Press Review"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 29—The 19th All-Soviet Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which got off the ground in Moscow on Tuesday with Mikhail Gorbachev delivering a report on the course of the implementation of resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and tasks in the cause of deepening restructuring is the leading story on front pages of all Polish dailies today.

The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU prints the first part of the full text of Gorbachev's report, promising its readers the second part on Thursday, while other papers bring its main theses.

The meeting of the PUWP CC Political Bureau on Tuesday which discussed the course of the election campaign and results of elections to people's councils is the leading home story in the dailies.

Highlighted is the press conference by the government spokesman who spoke about a draft convention between Poland and the Vatican and his possible dispute with Radio Free Europe in Munich, among other topics.

On international news columns the dailies highlight the visit to Washington by Polish Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski and Paris talks by Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski as well as the meeting of the Polish-FRG mixed commission for economic cooperation in Hamburg.

In its commentary on Mikhail Gorbachev's report delivered to the 19th All-Soviet CPSU Conference, today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote in part:

"Thus, Mikhail Gorbachev did not leave any doubts as to the necessity of conducting the reform of the political system. Its main direction is to reinstate the role of the Soviets of deputies, which were for tens of years ignored by the party hierarchy and organs of executive power.

"The introduction of the reform of electoral system will undoubtedly lead to many personal changes on various levels but there is no other way to reaching the state when managerial functions are performed by people who enjoy public confidence. Only in this way it is possible to convey—as stressed by Mikhail Gorbachev—real power to the people and their representative bodies.

"The report by the CPSU CC general secretary makes it clear that perestroyka is not a new entry alone under which one could slip old methods and customs, on which some people evidently counted.

"The success of perestroyka will largely depend on the acceleration to be added to it by the conference. The Moscow debates will decide on the progress of democratization and openness and on the outcome of economic reforms equally awaited by society," wrote the daily.

Commenting on the same subject, today's TRYBUNA LUDU wrote: "If we wanted to briefly sum up the evaluation of the road covered after the 27th congress contained in the report, we would have to say the following: Clear progress, great changes for the better both in the sphere of production and economic policy and in the solving of social issues, but also lost opportunities and mistakes.

"The gist of the new concepts lies—shortly speaking—in the reinstatement in different historic conditions of Lenin's concept of the Soviets (or local councils) which constitute the basis of people's power, development of self-government and social initiative, the clear separation of state functions from administrative and party ones."

Sadowski Meets Shultz, Other U.S. Officials

LD2806231488 Warsaw PAP in English 1622 GMT 28 Jun 88

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, June 28—In the U.S. Department of State Poland's Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski met on June 27 with the Secretary of State George Shultz.

Sadowski presented the assessment of to-date implementation of economic reform in Poland and broadly commented on the processes of political and social democratization now under way in Poland. He emphasized that understanding for those processes in the U.S. would help

towards their (the processes) further development. In a lengthy and business-like conversation George Shultz showed interest in the prospects of the development of situation in Poland.

On the American side the talks were attended by Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, Undersecretary of State for International Economic Relations A. Wallis, and other senior officials from the Department of State. On the Polish side, present at the talks were Poland's Ambassador to the U.S. Jan Kinast and Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Finance A. Dorosz.

Sadowski's meeting with George Shultz was preceded by his talks with Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead.

Also on June 27 Sadowski held talks with Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund M. Camdessus, and President of the World Bank B. Connable. Sadowski presented the up-to-date situation in Poland and the course of implementation of economic reform. He emphasized that the involvement of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank could be of advantage in facilitating the development of Poland's international economic cooperation.

Sadowski Terms British Talks 'Very Useful'

LD2606212688 Warsaw PAP in English 2054 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Text] London, June 26—Polish Deputy Premier Zbigniew Sadowski paid an official visit here last week. After a series of meetings with British politicians and representatives of the country's economic life Sadowski left for Washington to hold talks with high ranking officials of international financial institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the International Financial Corporation, as well as with members of the U.S. Government, Senate and House of Representatives on long-term programmes of solving Poland's debt problem.

Before leaving London, Sadowski met with British newsmen and foreign correspondents in the seat of the Foreign Press Association. The newsmen were interested in the course of his talks in the British capital. They were also interested in the economic and political situation in Poland.

Sadowski said that he conducted very useful talks with members of the British Government—Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Secretary for Trade and Industry Lord Young. The talks had a very wide scope and showed considerable understanding by the British side for Poland's problems and the need of greater international cooperation on the subject of Poland's foreign debt and an adjustment programme, with the participation of the IMF.

In the light of the traditional ties between Great Britain and Poland and in the light of the British approach to the issue of stability in Europe, which is closely connected with stability in Poland, from Great Britain we expect greater understanding and readiness to offer us support than from any other European country. I am leaving London with the conviction that Great Britain shows much readiness to provide assistance to Poland's efforts, Sadowski stressed.

Sadowski spoke about the burden, which the servicing of Poland's foreign debt, currently totalling 39.2 billion dollars, places on the country. Since 1982 Poland has already repaid 14 billion dollars interest. Despite the fact that a quarter of the export revenue is spent on servicing the debt—and the Polish economy cannot repay more—this does not cover all the dues owed which accumulate and increase the debt. In this matter an international agreement on a long-term programme is necessary, Sadowski said.

Speaking about internal undertakings aimed at speeding up the repayment of the debt, Sadowski pointed to the quickly growing exports to the Western markets as well as to their improving produce makeup—the growing share of industrial products. This also pertains to the British market. A second direction of such actions is the opening up of the Polish economy to foreign capital—including the preparation of a draft law on foreign capital investments to replace the 1986 Law on Joint Ventures, which has become outdated in the light of the quick changes taking place.

Sadowski stressed that irrespective of the fact whether Poland gets greater or smaller international aid the present direction of the economic policy will be continued. But such aid would speed up the achievement of targets in the implementation of our programmes, he said.

PPR Declaration Issued on Disarmament

AU2406113188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 88 pp 1, 6

[PAP report: "PPR Government Declaration on the Plan To Reduce Arms and Increase Confidence in Central Europe"]

[Text] As the government spokesman has already reported, Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski has given representatives of the CSCE states a Polish Government declaration on a plan to reduce arms and increase confidence in central Europe. The document reads as follows:

1. The PPR Government has, with due attention, received and given careful consideration to the views expressed in the replies submitted by governments and the statements made by their representatives as well as those that have emerged during the course of bilateral

working contacts pertaining to the plan to reduce arms and increase confidence in central Europe that was contained in a memorandum issued on 17 July 1987.

2. The PPR Government notes with satisfaction the beneficial climate for launching new initiatives in the field of disarmament and the building of confidence in Europe, which has, in particular, emerged following the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The implementation of the treaty will help to reduce the arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons in Europe, which is one of the main goals of Polish foreign policy.

3. The PPR Government reaffirms the validity of the proposals contained in the memorandum, which apply to the territory of the Kingdom of Belgium, the CSSR, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, and the GDR, the FRG, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the PPR, and these countries territorial waters and air space. In addition, taking into account the evolution of the international situation, especially in the disarmament field and the strengthening of confidence, and the views that have been exchanged thus far on the content of the memorandum, the PPR Government wishes to develop the proposals contained in it as follows:

4. The Polish Government affirms its interest in the withdrawal or reduction, in the aforementioned zone, of mutually agreed types and quantities of nuclear weapons.

5. In view of the fact that tactical nuclear weapons are potentially the most dangerous component of forces used for offensive purposes, and surprise attacks in particular, it is essential—in the interests of lasting peace—to gradually reduce and then eliminate these weapons.

6. The agreed undertakings would apply to all types of nuclear weapons, insofar as they are not covered by other agreements, and, in particular, missiles with a range of up to 500 kilometers, aircraft that can carry nuclear weapons, nuclear artillery, and all kinds of nuclear charges.

7. The PPR Government favors the commencement of separate negotiations on reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-capable systems and the eventual elimination of these weapons.

8. In addition, it deems it appropriate that until concrete undertakings are realized, the states concerned will undertake not to increase the level of nuclear weapons in central Europe or take compensating measures and introduce new weapons of this kind.

9. In proposing the gradual elimination and/or reduction in the types and numbers of conventional weapons agreed jointly, the Polish side believes that the implementation of these undertakings ought to be based on the principles of reciprocity and should lead to the elimination of disparities and imbalances in individual categories of weapons and thus, to the attainment of levels that would ensure, in the opinion of the interested parties, a mutually acceptable level of military stability at a proportionally lower level.

10. An important component of this stability would be the elimination of the ability to launch offensive operations, including the ability of any side to launch a sudden attack. This can be achieved by way of a significant reduction in the offensive components of military capabilities while preserving forces that will ensure effective defense.

11. The PPR Government views the transformation of military capabilities of a purely defensive kind as a complex of political, doctrinal, and technical kind. Important elements of these activities could be, for example: a reduction in personnel and the number of weapons, changes in the structure and deployment of weapons, and other undertakings that are agreed.

12. In view of this, consideration is being given to, among other things, removing imbalances and disparities by way of equal solutions that depend on simultaneous reductions by the parties concerned in types of weapons that have been agreed mutually.

13. A reduction in the number of weapons that are considered offensive by both sides and, first and foremost, those that could be used for a sudden attack. This particularly applies to missiles, tactical strike aircraft, tanks and other armored vehicles, combat helicopters, and long-range artillery, including artillery used for the launching of missiles.

14. Exchanges of lists of weapons regarded as especially dangerous or the publication of such weapons by sides would be help determine the priorities and scope of measures with regard to individual types of weapons.

15. In this connection the PPR Government wishes to draw attention to its position in line with which the realization of measures to reduce conventional armaments should be examined in the broad context of curbing one's ability to wage offensive operations.

16. Withdrawing and/or reducing armaments could lead to establishing a zone of diluted armaments. Mutually stipulated numbers of military units with the same combat capacity and an approximate amount of hardware and degree of combat readiness would be deployed in this zone at the necessary distance from the dividing line.

17. The most offensive components of armament (units) would be removed form the dividing line in the area of diluted armaments, would be placed at a lower level of combat readiness, or would be eliminated from the armed forces. This would greatly reduce opportunities for sudden aggression.

18. The PPR Government is ready to examine those methods of reducing and diluting armaments that would result in considerably reducing the level of basic types of armaments by, say, withdrawing entire units of comparable combat capacities. Eliminated hardware could be converted for peaceful uses or could be stored under international control.

19. The PPR Government takes the view that discussing and realizing the measures in the sphere of conventional weapons are linked to, but do not depend on the measures concerning nuclear weapons. This also applies to the method, procedure, and time of the start of negotiations in both cases.

20. These measures should be discussed during negotiations on reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments and on conventional stability in Europe. The negotiations would be conducted in line with the process started in Helsinki in 1975.

21. The PPR Government confirms its resolve to support activities to ensure such an evolution of military doctrines that makes it possible to recognize them as strictly defensive.

22. It will be helpful to jointly compare military doctrines and concepts—both national and allied—and to analyze their nature and development. This would involve the political and military-technical aspects of these doctrines. It would be desirable to mutually explain the doctrines' terminology and its application in the organization and training of troops.

23. Joint measures should define ways and means conducive to the necessary evolution of doctrines on the principle of the sufficiency of defense. In such a case the states would possess only the potentials that are necessary for their effective defense, that meet agreed requirements, and that can be mutually recognized as defensive in character.

24. The doctrines could be discussed by meetings of political representatives and ranking commanders and under CSCE auspices.

25. Confirming the importance of effective confidence-building measures, security, and mechanisms for accurately verifying whether obligations are adhered to, the PPR Government believes that these measures could play an important role in eliminating threats, countering possibilities for sudden aggression, and reducing mutual distrust.

26. Aside from developing the known confidence-building measures, this purpose could be served by jointly adopting new principles that curb the activity of ground forces and provide for the necessarily more stringent measures as the dividing line is approached. These curbs could apply to the movement of troops; to the scope, size, duration, and frequency of exercises, including the possibility of having them carried out jointly; and to bans on large-scale exercises.

27. Efforts could be made to extend confidence-building measures to independent activities of the air and naval forces.

28. Confidence-building measures could include exchanges of military information and procedures by which unaccustomed military activities could be explained. "Hot lines" between supreme civilian authorities and military commands and extended contacts between representatives of armed forces could also be helpful. Study visits and regular bilateral and multilateral meetings would be useful.

29. These measures should be negotiated at the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

30. The Polish Government confirms its readiness to accept mutually binding and far-reaching methods of monitoring the complete realization of the planned measures.

31. The monitoring mechanism should operate during all phases of the realization of proposed measures, should rely on means of verification that are employed all the time or occasionally and are recognized as effective, and which should in particular provide for on-site observations or inspections that may not be refused.

32. The system of mutual verification could provide for exchanges of necessary information, including lists of the withdrawn types of hardware and their deployment, information about the implementation of individual measures, and permanent inspection points at the border of the zone, at large railroad junctions, airfields, and harbors that would be used for the transportation of hardware and the units stipulated by the agreement.

33. The hardware withdrawn from the armed forces would also be subjected to inspection, which should ensure that the results of reductions and/or withdrawal of hardware are adhered to.

34. The establishment of the international consultative body, which might include the third countries concerned, could facilitate the effective realization of control tasks. Such a body would be primarily empowered to fulfill tasks of observation and inspection and to examine disputed issues.

35. In its memorandum on primarily central Europe, the PPR Government deems it possible to gradually negotiate disarmament and stabilizing measures throughout Europe. We regard the proposed plan as a solution that meets the security needs in central Europe, but we take the view that this solution is closely related to the situation, security, and solutions throughout Europe.

36. The realization of the measures listed in the plan should be performed in such a way as not to undermine the security of any state.

37. Presenting this declaration, the PPR Government stresses once again its readiness to cooperate on developing the plan's proposals with all governments concerned which are motivated by resolve to strengthen security and peace in Europe.

Solidarity Spokesman Allowed Foreign Travel

AU2806182188 Paris AFP in English
1721 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 28 (AFP)—Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the banned Solidarity trade union's national spokesman, was given permission Tuesday to attend a pacifist conference in Sweden, he said.

The trip will be his first abroad, all earlier requests to travel having been turned down by the authorities, he added.

Another prominent dissident, Jacek Kuron, founder of the KOR Social Self-Defence Committee, was also given permission to attend the conference.

Poland will be officially represented by a delegation from the Polish Committee for Peace, whose president Jozef Cyrankiewicz was prime minister during the 1950s.

Council of Ministers Meets, Views Reform Tasks

LD2806230788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers has accepted the plan of work of the government for the second half of this year. Work will concentrate, as in the first half, mainly on the tasks associated with the implementation of the Second Stage of the economic reform. Proposals for changes in and supplementation of the National Socioeconomic Plan will be prepared. At the resolution of the Association for Supporting Economic Initiatives, the Council of Ministers Considered and expressed agreement for the Creation of the Lodz Development Bank.

The government also familiarized itself with the program to limit sulphur dioxide emissions and also accepted a decree on the matter of payments for the economic exploitation of the environment and the introduction of changes therein, and also on the matter of payments for the particular use of waters and water facilities.

Radio Free Europe 'Grievances' Examined

LD2806115288 Warsaw PAP in English
1031 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Grievances of 'Radio Free Europe'"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 28—Much speculation and various guesses are linked in the West with personal reshuffle in the party leadership introduced at the PUWP CC 7th Plenum. For Radio Free Europe changes affecting six persons within the Political Bureau and CC Secretariat is naturally a feigned maneuver which means nothing and which foretells nothing since this radio station expected quite a different "political opening".

Radio Free Europe came up even with a comment that "Jaruzelski's team must inevitably seek allies among the forces it continues to attack for the time being." Radio Free Europe nominates as the "allies" top leaders of the former Solidarnosc. In other words, one of the kind claimed rights for the other, says a commentator of the Poznan-based daily GAZETA POZNANSKA. [sentence as received]

Grievances of Radio Free Europe addressed to the CC 7th Plenum have met no understanding and no support, although opinions can be heard in which simplified evaluations of the introduced personal changes are voiced. Some Western commentators wonder whether Professor Wladyslaw Baka, a top-class expert "committed to the line of market solutions"—as it is stressed—will be able to ensure an appropriate pace of transformations for the reform.

Following this line of reasoning, one would have to say that it remains an open issue whether Professor Baka, or even a few other high-placed experts, can turn verbal protagonists of economic transformations into a positive reformatory force.

Answering this, it may be said that the authors of such fears have missed the general premie worked out at the CC 7th Plenum, writes the commentator of the GAZETA POZNANSKA, as the Central Committee opted univocally for commitment of the entire party to the issues of reforms, and to economic issues in general. It is this key purpose that the personal changes introduced are to serve.

Strengthening of Local Government Viewed

PM2706161988 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish
15 June 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Wladyslaw Jonkisz, member of the Council of State, deputy-cum-reporter of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission, by Dorota Wesolowska; date and place not given]

[Text] [Wesolowska] What will be your feelings as the deputy-cum-reporter of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission when you begin to present the project for the

amendment of the act on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government structures: Is the act well suited to the public-service ambitions of our self-government structures and the needs resulting from the condition of our economy? Perhaps, as its critics say, we have stopped midway through the reform?

[Jonkisz] I shall be reporting the work of the Extraordinary Commission with my full conviction of the significance and the substance of the amendments we have prepared. They are not just a superficial finishing touches. Our proposals contain new, or expanded, attributes of power which will reinforce the position of people's councils in their role as managers of their regions.

I detect in your question a certain doubt as to whether this act is well devised. Well, already as we were working on the amendment of the act, we were aware of the high degree of differentiation of the state of our self-government system, especially in parishes and towns. An analysis of their work, the resolutions which they have passed, and the activity of various commissions of some 2,200 primary-level councils shows that several hundred of these have been making full use of their powers with great energy and enterprise, and with very considerable resultant benefit to their local communities. These best councils have recently been finding that they have very limited field for more maneuver and more initiative. There are also councils which are not making full use of the opportunities which are there. But progress is made by those who are best and the proposed amendment gives them new chances.

You cannot ask whether we have stopped midway or perhaps three-quarters of the way. Every process requires a will to act and an eagerness to find new possibilities. And the main course of action which the 1980's have mapped out for people's councils is that of increasing their scope for self-government and autonomy. That means increasingly complete realization of the principles of democracy.

[Wesolowska] Which particular amendment proposals did the Extraordinary Commission approve and which did it reject—and what were the reasons behind its decisions?

[Jonkisz] The work of the Extraordinary Commission was dominated by the fundamental principle whereby all the changes to be introduced had to be thorough and complete. A particular amendment which I regard as very important is, of course, the one concerning communal property. It will be made a constitutional provision. This introduction of a new form of property is a major change in our system. We also propose that the Sejm resolution should include an injunction obliging the government to prepare a communal property act so that the latter could become legally binding 1 January 1989. In the past 40 years many problems were created by the fact that people did not identify social property as their own. The definition "property of local self-government" points clearly to a well-defined group of people. "Local self-government" rather than 37 million Poles.

As you know, we gave up the idea of granting councillors immunity similar to that enjoyed by Sejm deputies. However, we have introduced measures designed to protect councillors regarding their professional situation. Let them do their work without fear or uncertainty. They have an essential need of such assurance.

The commission accepted many complementary proposals put forward by the Council of State, Council of Ministers, and individual deputies. It also introduced a number of additional proposals which are mainly designed to enhance the financial autonomy of people's councils. Among other changes, the ones that must be regarded as very important are the provision reinforcing the supremacy of people's councils over executive bodies, election of heads of local authorities, mayors, and voivodas by secret ballot, and the extension of the principle of granting local bodies official approval of their financial reports.

[Wesolowska] Could you give me your personal opinion of whether the new act has a chance of surviving longer than its predecessor, or whether we should expect another amendment soon? Which of its solutions might come under criticism during the debate on it in the Sejm?

[Jonkisz] We are proposing to introduce a considerably expanded range of powers. So I think that the new act will pass the test during the next term of office.

Even if we have not managed to find the optimal solutions in all cases, this does not preclude our doing so in the future.

Will these solutions come under criticism during the Sejm debate? I do not know; perhaps they will. I am on the side of the new proposals, and I think they are correct.

Merchant Shipping Aide Views Modernization

PM2806135388 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 20 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Kalicki, chief navigator of Polish Ocean Lines, by Ewa Sielicka; date and place not given]

[Text] [Sielicka] The measure of the modernity of any fleet, especially in the days of high competitiveness in the world shipping industry market, is the number of high-technology, highly specialized ships, particularly container ships. And, as we all know, the cargo fleet belonging to the Polish Ocean Lines is becoming both depleted and obsolete...

[Kalicki] Yes, that is something we are very well aware of. But, of course, everybody also knows that the possibility of buying modern ships in our domestic shipyards is very limited. In spite of this, on the basis of their projected tonnage requirements for the years 1991-1995, Polish Ocean Lines have devised a program for building new, modern vessels designed to meet the needs of our cargo operations. These will be what is termed general-cargo container ships. We are putting this program into practice in cooperation with the employees of the Shipbuilding Construction Technology Center in Gdansk. We want eventually to be able to present our order, based directly on an analysis of the structure of the cargo-carrying operations of Polish Ocean Lines, to a selected shipyard. The ships we want must be designed to carry out new functions. The principal of these is that they must be multipurpose vessels.

[Sielicka] What does this mean in concrete terms?

[Kalicki] They must have a high and versatile capacity for carrying containers and other, wide-ranging types of cargo, that is, general cargo as well as bulk and semibulk cargo. Moreover, the construction design of these vessels must meet specific requirements as regards open deck space, hatchway and hold parameters, and the size, number, and placing of ballast tanks that ensure our ships' safe operation with any given cargo load.

[Sielicka] The main purpose of these factors is to achieve so-called in-service economies. Reductions in cargo-handling time in port must also play a significant role in these considerations.

[Kalicki] That is why our general-cargo container ships will be equipped with their own cargo-handling gear, which will give them self-sufficiency in cargo handling. In addition, we provide for the possibility of adjustments in ship construction to adapt the vessel to changed cargo-carrying requirements. Such adjustments would include, among other things, installing an additional tween deck or container guide tracks.

[Sielicka] Comparable series of modern "ships of the future" are built and purchased by the Japanese and the West Germans. This constitutes a certain attempt at introducing standardization in cargo fleets. Are Polish Ocean Lines also pursuing that goal?

[Kalicki] It is difficult to compare our plans with those made, for example, by the FRG. They operate on a different scale, although I must admit that we based our program also on the West German "Econprogress" program, among other concepts. Thanks to that we can, to a certain degree, claim that our concepts are closely related to world trends in cargo fleet modernization projects. The important thing for us is that for the first time we are in charge of the process of "making up" the structure of our cargo fleet. And that is an essential necessity.

[Sielicka] When we speak of an "economical" ship, we mean mainly the cost of its construction and subsequent upkeep. What are other economic benefits for the shipowner?

[Kalicki] Apart from economic benefits, which also include investment costs, we must also remember the technical advantages. These mainly relate to ship repairs and spare parts servicing as well as the entire in-service maintenance of the ships. The introduction of the new ships will also make it possible to operate them in a flexible way on individual shipping lines. In this way, we can have a high degree of operational readiness and flexibility. These, of course, also make for calculable advantages for the shipowner.

[Sielicka] Finally, the essential question: When will the first modern ship be put into service?

[Kalicki] The project for the first, pilot vessel was completed in just under 8 months. The successive projects, already containing many novel solutions, should be ready by the middle of next year. We must remember that the advanced modern design of the new ships we are planning to introduce is a resultant of all the cooperation and comparison of technological experience between engineers, designers, heads of operations departments, and users of the ships themselves.

The costs of the realization of the whole operation will doubtless be considerable, but the eventual advantages, both for Polish Ocean Lines and the entire economy, will be tremendous.

[Sielicka] Thank you for talking to me.

Jaruzelski Receives Cosmonaut on Anniversary

LD2706192688 Warsaw PAP in English
1859 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 27—On the tenth anniversary of the first space flight by a Pole, PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski today received the hero of the historic mission, pilot cosmonaut Colonel Miroslaw Hermaszewski together with Major General Piotr Klimuk.

Also today, during a meeting with PUWP CC Political Bureau member Jozef Baryla, its participants stressed the importance of the flight for Polish-Soviet relations, the development of scientific-technological progress and space research and for their peaceful utilization.

Particular attention was given to the Soviet Union's initiatives on the peaceful use of space in the interest of the entire civilized world, the departure from the proliferation of the arms race into space and the undertaking of efforts aimed to use it for man's needs.

RCP Central Committee Plenum Chaired by Ceausescu

Condemns Hungary's 'Hostile Actions'

AU2806163088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1558 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of Romanian Communist Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/06/1988—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, a plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP was held on 28 June.

Upon the proposal of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, the plenary meeting unanimously approved the following agenda: organizational matters, proposals for the rise in the working personnel's pay over 1988-1989, proposals for the rise in the pensions of state social insurances, pensions for the disabled and pensions for war invalids, international issues.

The plenary meeting was attended by cadres in responsible posts and who are not members of the CC of the party, as invited guests.

As for the organizational matters, the plenary meeting unanimously approved:

—The release of Constantin Mitea and Radu Balan from the office of secretaries of the CC of the party;

—The release of Stefan Birlea from the alternate membership of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, in connection with his release from the office of chairman of the State Planning Committee;

—The election of Constantin Olteanu to the office of secretary of the CC of the party;

—The election of Radu Balan as alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP;

—The election of Radu Constantin, first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee, as alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, in accordance with the provisions in the party statute.

Next, read were the letter of the CC of the RCP addressed to the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in connection with the question of relations between Romania and Hungary and the letter of reply of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The participants in the debates presented the stage of fulfilment of the tasks for the first half of the year and described measures in enterprises to fully implement the 1988 plan and the targets of the current five-year period.

The plenary meeting was highly appreciative of the measures proposed to raise the pays of working staff and the pensions, illustration of the RCP's constant care to continually increase the material and spiritual welfare of all categories of citizens, to ensure a new quality of life and work of the whole people. It was stressed that the implementation of this action of high political and social importance constituted the realization of one of the important provisions of the programme of increase of the standard of living over 1986-1990.

Approving the proposals regarding the rise in the pays of working staff and pensions of state social insurances, of pensions for the disabled and the pensions for war invalids, the plenary meeting decided that these proposals should be submitted for debate and endorsement in the Grand National Assembly.

The plenary meeting expressed the full adhesion of all Romanian citizens to the constructive, principled foreign policy of the RCP and the Romanian state, initiated and promoted consistently by the party general secretary, president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Approving the initiative and the content of the letter of the Central Committee of the RCP addressed to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the plenary meeting appreciated that it was in the interests of Romania and Hungary to do everything possible for the settlement of the problems which affect bilateral collaboration, for the normalization of the relations between the two socialist countries, for the Romanian-Hungarian links to develop in the spirit of collaboration, confidence and good neighbourhood, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in home affairs and mutual advantage, according to the provisions in the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance and in other joint documents.

The participants in the debates condemned the fact that even after the exchange of letters between the CC of the RCP and the CC of the HSWP, in utter contradiction with the norms of interstate relations, chauvinistic, anti-Romanian and anti-socialist actions continued in Hungary. It was asked that these hostile actions profoundly harmful to the Romanian-Hungarian relations be put an end to without delay.

The Central Committee pointed out that the Romanian Communist Party, true to its position, was determined to make its contribution to the principled settlement of the problems which affect Romanian-Hungarian links, for the further development of the ties between Romania and Hungary, on the basis of mutual esteem and respect, of the socialist principles.

In connection with the problems on the agenda, the plenary meeting endorsed a resolution which is to be released.

At the end of the works of the plenary meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, took the floor.

Comments on Hungarian Dispute

AU2806183188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1728 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Nicolae Ceausescu on the Exchange of Letters Between the CC of the RCP and the CC of the HSWP"—AGERPRES headline—in a speech to the RCP Central Committee Plenum on 28 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/6/1988—In a speech made on 28 June, at the plenary meeting of the CC of the party, Nicolae Ceausescu referred extensively to the exchange of letters between the CC of the RCP and the CC of the HSWP, saying: The Central Committee of the RCP considered it was necessary to address the CC of the HSWP in order to caution over the worsening of the relations between our parties and countries, over certain manifestations, articles in the press and even statements of some officials hostile to Romania and to the socialist construction in our homeland, which represent unacceptable interference in our domestic affairs, run counter to the treaty of friendship and other accords and understandings between the two countries, damage severely the relations and interests of the two neighbouring peoples, and stand against the general principles of interstate relations, and the peace policy.

We suggested, the speaker went on, a meeting of delegations of the Central Committees of the two parties in order to discuss this situation and establish due measures for eradicating the negative states of affairs, as well as ways to develop the collaboration and relations between the two parties and peoples.

After one and a half months an answering letter was received from the CC of the HSWP. Nicolae Ceausescu then showed: We, the Executive Political Committee, have retained that ultimately, the CC of the HSWP states it understands and considers that the questions in Romania must be solved exclusively by the Romanian Communist Party. We have expected that due conclusions be drawn from that statement.

At the same time we have grasped that the Hungarian comrades say they agree with organizing meetings in several stages, in order to discuss the issues between the two parties and countries. Still, unfortunately after not too many days since the arrival of the letter, new actions of a chauvinistic, nationalistic, anti-Romanian and anti-socialist nature have emerged, and yesterday (27 June—editor's note) a new manifestation was organized with the agreement and—as stated even by news coming from Hungary—under the aegis of the official party and state bodies in Hungary.

The question asked here whether due conditions exist for the proper running of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest is jusified. We shall look into what has been suggested, also in light of the stand to be taken next by the party and state leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The fact is well known that the Romanian Communist Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania have always worked for the materialization of wide collaboration between our parties and neighbouring peoples. We have set out from the fact that the issues emerged unilaterally by violating the accords and understandings between the two parties and countries must be solved exclusively by way of talks, in a spirit of equality, respect and noninterference in the domestic affairs of either country.

No doubt, there are many questions in need of solution both in Romania and in Hungary. There may be and there are different opinions as to the ways to step up the socialist construction. Yet, we have always set out from the fact that each party, each people must choose independently and freely the path of socialist construction. The sole supreme judge is the people in each country, is reality, is life which proves best whether one path or another has met or meets the interests of a people, the general laws and the principles of scientific socialism.

We understand well many of the grave issues which have emerged in the neighbouring country. We understand the preoccupations of the working people in Hungary, yet, we will not understand the preoccupations of some chauvinistic and nationalistic circles which, in order to deflect attention from realities and problems in need of solution, resort to the old practices, going beyond—I dare say that—what even Horthy's people never dared to do.

Living for many, many centuries as neighbours, the Romanian and Magyar working people have been living and working together and fighting many times against oppression. It is also life, facts which have proved that when they failed to avoid the path of chauvinism they ended in the defeat of the 1848 revolutions. This is not a place to discuss history. I only want to stress that the Romanian people, in the spirit of its traditional policy of good neighbourliness and friendship nurture feelings of friendship for the neighbouring Hungarian people, and we express the hope that the issues emerged will be overcome and progress will be ensured along the socialist path of improved welfare.

As a result of historic development, the neighbouring Romanian and Hungarian people will continue to live as neighbours, and it is their duty to collaborate as tightly as possible for their economic and social progress for socialist and independent development, and the parties and the leaderships of the two parties and countries are duty-bound before their peoples, history and mankind to voice the aspirations after collaboration and good neighbourliness between our peoples.

As far as we are concerned, let me assure the plenum of the Central Committee, the entire people that we will do everything to develop the relations between the two parties, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic, in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace, but we reject firmly any attempt of interference in our domestic affairs. It is us who will solve the questions of the socialist construction, the questions of Romania, with the entire people and for the people, in the spirit of the workers', revolutionary democracy, and we will accept nobody to interfere in our domestic affairs, in any way.

Foreign Issues Discussed

AU2806184088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1742 GMT 28 Jun 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu on International Questions" at RC Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest 28 Jun]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/6/1988—Approaching some international issues in the speech he made on 28 June at the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu showed inter alia that the conclusion of the UN special session devoted to disarmament without the adoption of a resolution in this respect, ignoring the will of the great majority of the world peoples, was due to some countries, and first of all, the United States of America, which opposed the adoption of a resolution on this issue. But, even without the adoption of a special resolution, Romania's president pointed out, the session evinced strongly the will of world states and peoples, including the American people, to put an end to the current arming policy, which can lead, inevitably, to a new world war, to a nuclear catastrophe—to work for a policy of peace, of collaboration among all world nations.

Expressing concern over the world economic situation which keeps worsening, the deterioration of the situation of the developing countries, Nicolae Ceausescu also showed that the Toronto meeting of the seven industrialized countries ended with no special resolutions. As a matter of fact, the speaker continued, the problems of the world economy cannot be solved by a few countries only, no matter how developed. To overcome the world economic crisis, to relaunch the economy activity and to solve the complex economic and financial and social problems of the contemporary world, an international conference on the problems of the world economy should be called, on underdevelopment problems in particular, for the establishment of a new international economic order.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated that Romania was firmly determined to make an active contribution together with all the developing countries, all world states, to the settlement of these problems, considering these, alongside disarmament and peace, as decisive factors for new international links, for the progress of each nation, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

Pay Increase Debated

AU2806201088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 28 Jun 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline—on 28 June in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/6/1988—Speaking at the 28 June plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the proposals of the Executive Political Committee for the increase of the working personnel's payment and of pensions, which were unanimously approved by the plenary meeting. He showed that, as part of this action, the remuneration of the working personnel in Romania that make up about 7,900,000 persons would be raised by 10 per cent. Tariff remuneration grows 8 per cent, while variable payment 2 per cent. The average nominal remuneration will rise from 2,980 to 3,285 lei.

Underscoring more particularly the increase of minimal tariff remuneration from 1,500 to 2,000 lei monthly, Nicolae Ceausescu noted that that harmonized with the RCP general policy of ensuring a balanced growth of all working people's incomes. More than 2,500,000 persons will benefit from such an increase starting 1 August till 1 October. It refers especially to the young working personnel, now in the first years of activity.

The RCP general secretary specified that the increase of payment did not imply higher house rents or lower child benefits. By the end of this year, 4,470,000 working people will benefit by higher payment. For the remainder of the personnel remuneration will rise gradually, starting 1 March 1989 and ending on 1 August 1989.

Owing to the more marked growth of low remunerations, the ratio between the minimal and the maximal remuneration will be of 1 in 4.70 as to 1 in 5.35 at present.

The increase of payment goes hand in hand with the rise in the state social security pensions for the length of service and age limit, of up to 3,000 lei a month, i.e. 8 per cent on an average. Higher pensions will benefit 97 per cent of the total pensioners of this category, that is nearly 1,350,000 persons. The retirement pension due to age after a full length of service will average 2,000 lei a month, while the minimal pension with this category will rise 22 per cent, from 900 to 1,100 lei monthly.

For the pensioners with incomplete length of service, at least ten years, minimal pension grows 45 per cent, from 550 to 800 lei monthly. Likewise, the minimal pension for second-grade disability increases 33 per cent, from 600 to 800 lei monthly. The pensions of war invalids also

rise—the ones lower than 3,000 lei a month by 17 per cent on an average, while the minimal pension by 45 per cent, from 550 to 800 lei monthly.

Owing to this payment increase, in 1990 when the working personnel will be given higher remuneration, the payment fund will top 29 billion lei annually. So, the total remuneration fund will top the 300 billion lei mark, which means a 5.5-time increase as to 1965 when this fund was of 57 billion lei.

At the same time, the total fund for pensions tops 35 billion lei from 3.8 billion lei in 1965.

The new payment and pension increase strongly proves the might and profoundly humanistic and democratic character of the Romanian socialist system. Payments and pensions are raised while price stability is maintained with consumer goods, services and, generally, with all products, the RCP general secretary emphasized. This proves the correctness of the RCP policy of maintaining prices under control. This is in fact the sole way of making payment and pension increase correspondingly reflect in the greater purchasing power of the working people and the nation's welfare.

Showing that the theses of the 29 April Executive Political Committee are debated at large in the party and with the entire people throughout the country, which is to make the object of a special plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee, the party general secretary asked that, till then, action should be taken for the implementation of the major orientations of these theses regarding the modernization and improvement of socio-economic activities, and the enhancement of the party's leading role in all fields of activity.

Ceausescu Chairs SDUF Session 28 Jun

AU2806195488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/6/1988—Under the chairmanship of President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], Tuesday, 28 June, proceeded a plenary meeting of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front National Council.

The plenum looked into reports on the way action is taken by the SDUF bodies to implement the goals regarding the country's economic and social development, and on the activity carried out by the SDUF to continuously improve the organization and enhance the efficiency of the control exerted by the working people, as well as into the proposal regarding enhancing the pay of the working personnel over 1988-1989 and the pensions.

The participants in the debates pointed out the importance of the theses in the exposition made by Nicolae Ceausescu at the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP in April 1988, setting forth the fact that also to the SDUF organizations they stand as a heartening working program.

In their addresses, the speakers underscored the unanimous adhesion of the entire nation to the realistic and constructive foreign policy of Socialist Romania, to the actions and initiatives meant by President Nicolae Ceausescu to serve the cause of peace and security, understanding and collaboration among people, and the setting up of a better and more just world.

The speakers rejected with indignation any attempt at interference in Romania's domestic affairs, by some foreign reactionary, antisocialist circles, inclusive of those by some irredentist and revisionist groups in Hungary, and the hostile manifestations disparaging the achievements made by the Romanian people, under the leadership of the RCP, in the work of building the socialist and communist system in the homeland.

The participants in the plenum approved unanimously the documents in the agenda, the special programme of measures as well as the resolution of the plenary meeting of the SDUF National Council.

The same day, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization (SDUO) was held, which debated the tasks incumbent on its organizations in point of implementing the goals set for the country's economic and social development, as well as the measures regarding the rise in pay and pensions.

On Ties With Hungary

AU2906085988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0755 GMT 29 Jun 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romanian-Hungarian Relations—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/6/1988—Referring again to a recent exchange of letters between the CC of the RCP and the CC of the HSWP, to the relations between Romania and Hungary, President Nicolae Ceausescu said the following in a speech before the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front that met in plenum in Bucharest on 28 June: In sending the letter to the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party we set out from the need to open discussions between delegations of the two parties in order to establish by common agreement to renounce all activities directed against Socialist Romania, to all chauvinistic, nationalistic activity and systematic disinformation of the Hungarian people about the realities in our country. Toward the end of June the answer came. The leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party stated its accord to open discussions in phases.

We regarded that as an important step on that matter, but unfortunately hardly a couple of days had passed and statements continued to be made in Hungary, all kinds of materials nationalistic-chauvinistic in character continued to be published, and a demonstration on that question was staged outside our embassy yesterday. It is difficult to understand the judgment of the organizers of the demonstration. It seems that the absence of a firm denunciation of the Horthy policy, and more than that, the high regard that some circles in Hungary have for the Horthy policy are a source of inspiration for people who bitterly hate the great achievements of the Romanian people, the socialist development programmes of our homeland.

It is no secret to anybody that there are different approaches to problems in socialist construction. We started and start from the idea that socialism is achieved in conditions which differ from country to country and from stage to stage, and that each party and people choose the development path they think is the best. The real judge should be the people in each country, reality, life, that prove and will prove to what extent this or that way were an answer to realities and to the people's aspirations for welfare and liberty.

We do not wish in any way to interfere in the affairs of other states, therefore not in those of neighbour Hungary. The present problems in that country should be solved by the leading forces, the people of Hungary. And starting herefrom, we can in no way admit that anybody interfere in our domestic affairs, assess as right or not right to solve a problem in this or that way. We also have our opinions on what is going on in the world and in various countries, including Hungary. But we do not think we should refer to them, interfere in the domestic affairs of other states. But above all we cannot admit a restatement in a Hungarian parliamentary commission to the effect that Hungary's constant policy is that all the citizens of other countries of Hungarian descent—no matter how remote it may be—should belong to the Hungarian nation and that Hungary assumes responsibility to take care of them and guide their activity.

This conception is alien to international law which not even Horthy dared to formulate. But it seems there are people who want to outdo all that was worst in world history.

It is our party and state that take care of the problems of Romanian citizens—whatever their parents' descent. In fact, it is very difficult to establish what happened centuries ago. One thing is clear, namely that the Romanian people was born here, won its independence, grew into a nation in fight, worked together with its neighbours, including the advanced people of the Hungarian nation. In this land people of Romanian, Magyar and other nationality have worked together. All that has been achieved in Romania is the fruit of work in common, and all people who live in Romania are Romanian citizens who have equal rights but also equal duties. No one from outside can claim to take care of this or that group of Romanian citizens. The citizens of our country are the concern of our state and party leadership, our society, our people who democratically decides their development, their socialist and communist future.

We hope and wish an early end to such manifestations and conceptions, the realization of the fact that it is in the interests of the Romanian people and of the Hungarian people to live in good neighbourliness, to work actively in all fields to build socialism, raise their living standards, ensure each nation's independence. This is how the interests of both the Romanian nation and the Hungarian nation, the interests of international peace and cooperation are best served.

Domestic Matters Reviewed

AU2906121288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1020 GMT 29 Jun 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the SDUF National Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/06/1988—Speaking at the plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], the most comprising organization of the Romanian democratic system, President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the proposals related to the increase of payment and pensions unanimously approved by this forum. As it was said, the retributions will increase by an average 10 per cent, and the pensions by 8 per cent.

We could adopt these resolutions in the present conditions of the world economic crisis, the president said, owing to the fact that in the first half of the current five-year period, in spite of all difficulties we had and still have, we succeeded to achieve an important development of our economy, to raise the general level of socioeconomic development. We could obtain all these as a result of the entire policy in the years of socialist construction and, especially, in the years following the Ninth RCP Congress, when we allocated about a third of the national income for the development of the forces of production, of industry, agriculture, science, education, culture, of all sectors of activity.

We have firmly applied the orientation set by the Ninth RCP Congress and by the National Conference of 1967 related to the territorial-administrative reorganization and to the planning of localities, to the development of industry in all the regions of the country. It is so how hundreds of new industrial centres and almost one hundred new towns have emerged. So it was possible that working and living conditions of full equality for all working people be ensured, regardless of nationality, for our entire people.

Of course, the president underscored, a just general policy is essential for ensuring the progress, but this represents only the start. The decisive role belongs to the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, to the entire people.

The thesis of building socialism with the people for the people is not an abstract, general notion but a reality of our revolutionary worker democracy, of the fact that all the citizens of our homeland, regardless of nationality, of beliefs, work in full unity for the entire nation's welfare, for the continuous development of civilization and the strengthening of our homeland's independence. This is the most powerful force that our nation, our state, Romania, represent today, President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized.

Hungarian Council 'Rejects' Foreign 'Theses'
AU2806175988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1704 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Plenary Meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of Magyar Nationality"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/6/1988—As reported, a plenary meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of Magyar nationality was held in Bucharest on 27 June to analyse the way in which this body works for the implementation of the country's socioeconomic development programmes and of the orientations contained in the exposition to the 29 April meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

The report read during the meeting shows that Socialist Romania ensures full equality to all its sons through a highly humanistic policy, providing conditions for the plenary assertion of all society's members. Along this line stress was laid on the policy of a rational and balanced distribution of the forces of production, which acquires new political, economic and social significance in the context of carrying through the comprehensive programme for physical planning apt to ensure the narrowing and even the liquidation of the essential differences between towns and villages. Realities—the new industrial districts built in Sfintu Gheorghe, Miercurea-Ciuc, Tirgu Secuiesc, Zalau, Bistrita, towns where the Romanian population of Magyar nationality also lives—the new, basically changed look of all the country's localities and regions, the unprecedented scope of housing and sociocultural constructions, the report shows, are undeniable evidence that only through a rational investment policy, through a judicious location of the production forces in the territory, through the whole people's conscious effort for development can we secure the steady growth of our socialist civilization and the people's welfare.

The report also underscores the conditions created in Romania for the unhampered use by the nationalities of their mother tongue, and the advancement of their specific culture. The report also underlines the need for the Romanian working people of Magyar nationality to learn Romanian which, far from being a mere obligation, is a prerequisite for the development of human personality on all planes and for full exercise of all civic rights.

In connection with the recurrent attempts made by both the so-called historians and politicians in the Hungarian People's Republic, on the one hand, to erroneously present the most important moments in the history of the Romanian people and nation, to falsify historical truth and, on the other hand, to distort and even denigrate the incontestible achievements scored in the years of socialism, the report of the Council of Romanian Working People of Magyar nationality points out: We firmly rejected and reject the attempts to our vital interests, to our present and future, to the working people's unity, to the prestige and dignity of Socialist Romania. The interference in the life of one country's citizens, the solutions given from afar can be detrimental to their interests, can generate discord, can poison the relations among individuals, peoples and countries, can attempt to good neighbourliness, to understanding and peace among states. History has proved that it is precisely the interference of outside political forces, of states with other interests than those of the inhabitants of these places that have been harmful enough to the Romanian people, to the working people of Magyar nationality. That is why we indignantly reject and condemn the interference in the internal affairs of our country and we do not need and do not admit to be taught by anybody.

We are concerned over the fact that in some neighbour countries' manifestations hostile to our country and the RCP's consistent policy are encouraged, that revisionist, revanchist and irredentist theses are circulated again in an attempt of reconsidering facts which history unappealably sanctioned. We think as particularly serious the attempts to deny the legitimacy of the territorial realities established after the First and the Second World Wars, to falsify not only the present but also the historical past. We all know very well where the propagation of such theses and ideas led in the past, how much harm and sorrow they caused to peoples.

That is why the plenary meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of Magyar Nationality shows its indignation at the circulation of like reactionary theses it resolutely rejects. They will find no echo with the citizens of Socialist Romania, with the Romanian working people of Magyar nationality, the report shows.

In the same sequence of ideas, the resolution endorsed by the plenary meeting points out: On behalf of the working people of Magyar nationality in Romania, we vehemently reject any attempt at interference in the internal affairs of our country. It must be well understood that all the problems of concern to the Romanian citizens of Magyar nationality are solved by the competent bodies of the Socialist Republic of Romania the same as all the questions of concern to the Hungarian citizens of Romanian nationality are solved by the

competent organs in the Hungarian People's Republic. All the problems related to our work, life and future are and will be solved only by the Romanian Communist Party, by the Romanian state, government and bodies invested by the whole nation with constitutional rights and high responsibilities.

It is in the interest of the Romanian and Hungarian peoples to live in friendship, mutual respect and good understanding, to make their own socialist destiny. We will resolutely and energetically work, in harmony with the Romanian people's lofty ideals of friendship and peace, of the development of ties of good neighbourliness, of collaboration and understanding with all the peoples of the world.

German Council Accepts 'Nobody's Interference'

AU2806140788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1332 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Plenary Meeting of the National Council of Romanian Working People of German Nationality"—AGERPRES headline—held in Bucharest 27 June]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/6/1988—Meeting in plenum on 27 June, the Council of Romanian Working People of German Nationality analysed its activity for the fulfilment of the country's economic and social development programmes, for the implementation of the theses and orientations formulated by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu in his exposition at the 29 April 1988 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP.

The report to the plenum stresses the permanent concern of the Romanian party and state to give all the citizens of the country equal living and working conditions, equal opportunities for social assertion through a rational, balanced distribution of the forces of production across the country and the creation of a broad, democratic framework that gives all working people a part in political life and the administration of society. The new industrial districts of Timisoara, Sibiu, Brasov, Arad, in the County of Caras-Severin, in other towns and counties where Romanians of German nationality live and work, the new look of the places all over the country are convincing evidence of the justness of this policy the aim of which is an ever higher socialist civilization standard and growing general welfare.

The report of the Council of Romanian Working People of German Nationality and the speakers at the plenary meeting firmly condemned any interference in the Romanian people's peaceful life, the attempts of reactionary circles abroad to question the Romanian people's achievements, to denigrate and falsify its history with the obvious aim to harm the unity of aspirations and ideals of all the citizens of Romania.

Assessing these fabrications as a shameful attempt to revive reactionary revanchist theses that sow discord, as gross interference in domestic affairs and an attempt on the Romanian people's sovereign rights, the report of the Council of Romanian Working People of German Nationality stresses: "To us who have been here for eight centuries Romania was and is our only motherland. We state again most strongly and with a full sense of responsibility that we accept nobody's interference, that we need no 'counsel' from outside concerning our common life and work, our highest ideal—socialism and communism in our dear old homeland—Romania. Alone the RCP, the Romanian Government and other constitutional higher organs have the competence and right to examine and find solutions to the problems of Romania—an independent, free and sovereign state."

On the attempt of the same reactionary imperialist circles to give a definition of the "human rights" which ignores such fundamental rights as the right to work, to education, to life, the council says in its report that the Romanian working people of German nationality cannot accept, under the "human rights" cloak, the instigations to desert the country. The council states its full disagreement with the people who, under various pretexts, left or are trying to leave the country, lured by the mirage of "affluence" and the illusory equal opportunities in the capitalist world, in the so-called affluent societies where exploitation and oppression are most ruthless, and human dignity is trampled upon. It should be clear to everybody that a population like that of German nationality, that became an ethnical entity in Romanian land, does not have and cannot have other homeland than Romania. Hence, all our problems, the problems of the Romanian state, and their settlement are the exclusive competence of that state. A resolution passed by the plenum of the Council of the Romanian Working People of German Nationality voices the participants' strong condemnation of all people who try to denigrate the Romanian people's great achievements in the years of socialism, to incite to emigration, to desertion of the motherland.

Krunic Remarks on Necessary, 'Daring' Changes

LD2906124588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1117 GMT 29 Jun 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—It is essential to introduce daring changes without sentimentality or illusion, and any delay in this regard would be fatal, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Bosko Krunic said here today.

Krunic made this point in his introductory remarks at a Central Committee session discussing a draft program to operationalize the stands from the recent first conference of the LCY, which decided that radical reforms in the country's economic and social system must be made by the end of the year.

Different concepts and confrontation will doubtless find expression in practical implementation of the conference stands, and the tendencies of maintaining the acquired positions and monopolies will continue, warned Krunic.

The task of the Central Committee therefore is to concentrate on ensuring the unity of the League of Communists upon the platform of the conference, he said.

On changes in the political system Krunic said that Communists must now focus on a consistent interpretation of the LCY stands on outstanding questions connected with the proposed changes in the Constitution. We must persist in carrying out the constitutional changes so as to pave the way for reforms in the political and economic system, he added.

Krunic cited the disburdening of the economy, reduction of unreasonable spending, rationalization of work of the social institutions and cuts in the number of administrative personnel as tasks requiring urgent attention.

The president of the party Presidency next warned that manifestations of nationalistic behaviour were currently on the rise more than at any time after the war. Many now seek their chance to get into power by destructive actions, resulting in frequent attacks on institutions of the system, the leadership, ideology of the party, the role of Josip Broz Tito, and the Yugoslav Army, he said.

Recent strikes, the coming out of workers into the streets and serious social problems have led to various waverings and compromises threatening to devalue the program fixed at the LCY conference, noted Krunic. To give way to such manifestations, he remarked, would mean a collapse of reform of the political system.

Problems in individual environments are taking on a form of overt political dissatisfaction, said Krunic. He added that the responsibility for that was being shifted to the government, the state and party leadership, although weaknesses in economic operation and development plans were most often involved.

Krunic announced that next session of the Central Committee would discuss the results of the implementation of decisions of the 9th League of Communists Plenum on the situation in Kosovo Province. He called attention to the existing opposite assessments of the conditions in this province within the Republic of Serbia where the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure from nationalistic and separatist forces among the Albanian nationality had not been stopped yet. Ethnic Albanians make up the majority of the population in the province.

Gracanin Speaks at Kosovo Presidency Session

AU2406084688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 88 p 1

[M.A. report: "Ensuring a Safe Life"]

[Text] Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, participated with his colleagues in the work of the expanded session of the Presidency of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo, at which the current political security and economic situation in the province was assessed.

He stated that the political security situation in the province continues to be burdened with enemy activity, especially from the position of Albanian nationalism and separatism; a cooling of intranational relations; various forms of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins and their emigration, support and agitation by some Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists for meetings on a single nationality basis; and so on.

"As far as the SR of Serbia is concerned, it will continue to do everything to create conditions for the safe and secure life of all working people and citizens and all nations and nationalities in Kosovo," said Gracanin.

Kosovo LC Conference Opens 24 Jun

LD2506120488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0813 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The escalation of Albanian nationalism—owing to crude mistakes and failures in implementing LCY policy, in particular in intranational relations and implementing the national equality policy—has resulted in severe consequences which we are still feeling. Intranational relations in Kosovo are burdened by numerous problems and difficulties; in some areas they are greatly disturbed. We are continuining to see the consequences of this situation: Serbian and Montenegrin emigration.

This was said in a report by Kacusa Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, at the Kosovo LC conference which started today in Pristina.

The theme of the conference is ideological and political training of the Kosovo LC for action in implementing the national equality policy and developing socialist intranational relations.

A total of 244 delegates are taking part in this meeting. Half of them were elected in municipal party organizations, while the other half includes members of the LC Provincial Committee and its supervisory and statutory commissions.

On behalf of the LCY Central Committee, the conference is being attended by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Central Committee Presidium, as well as by delegations from all the republics, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] LC Organization.

We live in an atmosphere of constant tension. The involvement of the LC and all other subjective forces is objectively declining under the pressure of disturbed relations, lack of confidence, excess phenomena [ekcesnih pojava], and protests, Kacusa Jasari said.

As long as there are areas in which intranational relations are disturbed, as long as there is Albanian nationalist activity, Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, and activity by other destructive forces; as long as emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins in some areas is not abating; as long as there is dissatisfaction with this situation, this is a warning to the LC and all progressive forces that they have not involved all social and political subjects and institutions of the system in accomplishing tasks and eliminating all the causes that encourage a bad situation, Jasari said.

The LC should resolutely reject and unmask all activities by nationalist forces, these forces want to demonstrate that the national question has allegedly not been correctly settled in Yugoslavia. They favor solutions based on an Albanian nationalist platform in order to implement the slogan "Kosovo the Republic," while Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists endorse the denial of autonomy to the province and call for abolishing it by using various devices and methods. [passage omitted]

Jasari particularly stressed the responsibility of Albanians for achieving full national equality for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. This results, she believes, from the reality that Albanians outnumber the others; therefore, it is primarily their moral and human obligation. [passage omitted]

Speaking in favor of cherishing all that ties and brings together the people of Kosovo, Kacusa Jasari stressed that Kosovo Communists, primarily Albanians, should feel that preserving the national ethnic makeup is the question of their own fate. With the same responsibility, they should influence the return of all those who have left as well as the arrival of those who wish to do so.

She also pointed to the need to eliminate all the causes and problems which provoke dissatisfaction and the revolt of Serbians and Montenegrins. Along with the ideopolitical unmasking of the intentions of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism—the destructive forces which manipulate this dissatisfaction and want to use it to attack the LCY's policy, the self-managing system, cadres and organs—in this way it is possible to overcome nationalist gatherings.

Saying that a material basis is very important for achieving full national equality, Jasari stressed that all internal reserves should be used for speedier economic development in Kosovo and elimination of many shortcomings. This implies a resolute involvement of Communists and all workers to better utilize production capacities and cadre potential, increase productivity, and strengthen discipline and more responsible work.

In employment policy, national affiliation, linguistic barriers, and other conditions which put people in an unequal position are contrary to the policy of national equality, Kacusa Jasari said. Action to stop Serbian and Montenegrin emigration to a large extent depends on properly carrying out this policy and the overall development of the province.

Kacusa Jasari commented on the birth rate in Kosovo and stressed that this question objectively affects intranational relations.

Starting from the constitutional principle of the freedom, rights, and responsibility of human beings to plan their offspring, it is necessary to ensure that through a higher level of education and training, employment of women, and other measures population growth is harmonized with the realistic possibilities and needs of general economic and cultural development. Planning and directing demographic trends should be harmonized with the planning of all other needs and general development of Kosovo, Jasari said. She added that the LC should oppose negative trends, as well as the negative politization of the question of the birth rate, reducing it to a fear among some people from the exaggerated number of others. The thesis advanced by Albanian nationalists—that there should be the highest possible number of Albanians—is unacceptable to the LC, as is the thesis of other nationalists that we should be afraid of the increase in the number of Albanians.

Speaking about constitutional changes, Jasari said: We favor amendents to the Serbian Constitution which will express and realize in even more precise ways the function of the republic in those questions which are uniformly regulated for the entire territory, but which do not question the constitutional position of provinces as democratic, socialist, self-managing sociopolitical communities, which are part of the SR of Serbia and constituent elements of the federation. We should continue joint work on the questions of joint interests for the entire republic and find solutions in a way which is

established by the constitutional procedure and starting from the political stands established by the LCY organs, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC. Everything that is outside these orientations is not only unacceptable, but could further complicate relations and make work on constitutional changes more difficult.

In conclusion, Kacusa Jasari recalled certain results which have been achieved in Kosovo in implementing the conclusions of the plenum on Kosovo: in ideopolitical and work differentiation, in cadre policy, education, science, culture, judicial and state organs, and in employing potential candidates for emigration and those who have returned. [passage omitted]

The first two participants in the discussion, Musli Kabasi and Dragutin Prentic, pointed out, with regard to the example of Suva Reka that intranational relations can be good only if subjective factors are active, and if no one from the outside is allowed to spoil them. [passage omitted]

Adem Hasani from Kosovo Elektroprivreda raised a number of objections against the press. In his opinion a section of the press prints untruths launched by individuals to the effect that the Albanians in this collective are being favored. [passage omitted]

Zivojin Mitrovic requested that the LC reexamine its own responsibility for the situation and get rid of all those who for years have been trying to resolve it by words alone. Mitrovic demanded that responsibility should be established of all those who failed to contribute to halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. He noted that the Yugoslav program on Kosovo is being inconsistently implemented and warned that such indecision and inefficiency in the performance of the duties assumed cause reactions and suspicions and force the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo to look for solutions outside the institutions of the system. [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 12 not received] [passage omitted]

It is disheartening to realize that people believe that there is no justice in Kosovo, said Sonja Scepanovic, the first participant in the afternoon discussion. There is an atmosphere of expectation, she added, and one gets the impression that even positive results in Kosovo are achieved under pressure. Have we created such an atmosphere in Kosovo in which all progressive people demonstrate their communist and Yugoslav orientation? asked Sonja Scepanovic, citing as a positive example the attitude of Hajdar Nitaj from Decani who, though boycotted by the majority of wedding guests, did not succumb to the pressure to leave the Yugoslav flag and carry the Albanian one at the head of a wedding procession.

Ekrem Arifi warned of a wave of sometimes unjustified criticism of the action carried out by progressive forces in Kosovo, which goes as far as negating all the results achieved and even predicting an almost national and tragic confrontation of people in this province. He also noted that in constitutional discussion there are rumors of a "hard-line course" toward nationalities—that is, the Albanians in Yugoslavia—and also demands for regulating their rights in a way similar to that in other countries.

Arifi noted that the petitions and gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo aggravate the situation in the province, and that they are a form of political pressure skillfully used by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists. He believes that apart from justified demands the petitions also contain demands with destructive tendencies.

In contrast to Arifi, Petar Kostic proposed that the stands to be adopted at the conference also include an assessment according to which collective appeals to leaderships in the republics and the country and mass gatherings of the Serbs and Montenegrins are not nationalist, but that they are a reflection of dissatisfaction with the slow resolution of the problem of stabilizing the situation. [passage omitted]

Vukasin Jokanovic believes that at a time of strong national reaffirmation of the Albanian nationality the interests and development of other nations and nationalities have been neglected. On the other hand, negative processes, isolationism, and consolidation of national states within the country encourage the awareness of Kosovo as an isolated national community of Albanians. This helps to create conditions for the demand for a "Kosovo-Republic." Hence a considerable number of Serbs and Montenegrins do not feel that Kosovo is their community, and this, Jokanovic believes, is where we have to look for the causes of not only emigration but also lack of trust in the provincial organs and institutions.

When a number of members of a particular nation or nationality drops below the minimum, which is threatening to happen to the Serbs and Montenegrins, it is very difficult to halt the emigration. We must be aware of it, Jokanovic warned. [passage omitted]

Do the responsible comrades not see how they are drawing themselves and us too into a circle while the enemy is giving life to its objectives here before us? How long will we go on pulling the wool over the eyes of the Yugoslav public, asked Pavle Jovanovic. He expressed the view that the Presidium did not endorse the judgment of the Pristina LC Committee on the responsibility of former president and secretary of that forum, Ragip Haljilji and Nedeljko Pupovac respectively. In his opinion this annuls the most essential parts of the Pristina LC Committee's judgment and in many respects devalues the first vigorous action of this municipal organization. What sort of boldness, what sort of courage are we talking about, or is it maybe political myopia, Jovanovic said.

He declared that the top party leadership in Kosovo has not passed the test in the implementation of the conclusions and stands on Kosovo, and that for this reason it has to bear full responsibility. Jovanovic believes that this leadership can no longer perform its duty, and that individual members of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of the LCY Central Committee from Kosovo also bear responsibility.

With the permission of the delegates Pavle Jovanovic then read the stances and demands which the Communists of the 16th and 17th local communities in Kosovo Polje had forwarded to the conference. They demand the answer to these questions: Why are the political-security situation and intranational relations in Kosovo getting worse, and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continuing even after the ninth plenum? Why are its conclusions and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo not being implemented?

They demand the accountability of all the leaderships in Kosovo from 1981 onwards. They demand individual accountability of Kolj Siroka, Nebi Gasi, Ilijaz Kurtesi, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi, because they believe that precisely they play a key role in pursuing the cadre policy and for the situation in the province.

The Kosovo Polje Communists are raising the issue of accountability of the provincial committee Presidium itself because of its disagreement with the judgments of the Pristina municipal committee on the responsibility of Ragip Haljilji and Nedeljko Pupovac. They demand that Haljilji be recalled from the provincial committee Presidium, and that Musamedin Azemi, the current president of the Pristina party organization, be elected in his place.

Greeting the conference delegates on behalf of the Croatian LC Central Committee Ivan Gzetic stressed that approximately 10,000 Albanians live and work in Rijeka region including its hinterland and there we have no problems whatever with them, except that in some way they feel responsible for what is happening in the province. The people in my republic see the situation here as worse than it actually is, Grzetic added. He explained this by reference to the biased press reports. Only the truth must be told about Kosovo because some minor matters happening in other republics are exaggerated here and are represented as a major problem. [passage omitted]

Sinan Hasani spoke mostly of the tragic consequences of the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and recalled that a great majority of them went because of direct physical pressure and the psychosis of insecurity and fear that has been created. Instead of working resolutely on halting the emigration and on making those who left return, immediately after the counterrevolutionary events in 1981, the opposite happened, Hasani said. He said it is not difficult to imagine how the emigrants feel, and the same applies to their relatives, friends, and comrades who have remained in Kosovo.

Hasani drew attention to the fact that some circles outside Kosovo are trying to take advantage of the difficult political situation in this province by advocating their old concepts and by creating an anti-Albanian mood.

Kosovo Decisions Not Implemented

LD2506110388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0500 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] Pristina, June 24 (TANJUG)—The tasks set before Communists by a program for the settlement of the problems in Kosovo, fixed at last year's ninth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), are not being implemented in satisfactory way.

This was noted, among other things, in a debate at the first conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo which opened today in Pristina, the capital of this autonomous province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Kosovo, where the majority of the population are ethnic Albanians, was the scene of demonstrations in 1981 when the demonstrators demanded the status of a republic for the province.

Behind this stood the forces who actually supported—and who still support—the secession of the province from Yugoslavia and its joining to Albania.

The view that the provincial party leadership has not passed the test in implementing the tasks set by the LCY Central Committee and that it can therefore no longer exercise its functions, was expressed in today's debate.

The responsibility of members from the province in republican and federal party forums was also discussed.

Speakers warned of a lack of confidence in the organs and institutions of authority and a feeling of helplessness among the Serbs and Montenegrins in the province, who continue to migrate under permanent pressure of different kinds from the majority Albanian population.

The conference, which ends tomorrow, is to make a crucial contribution to a change of the situation in the province, particularly in the sphere of inter-nationality relations, and to intensify the League of Communists' struggle against the growing nationalist tendencies in Yugoslavia, it was emphasized during the debate.

Temporary Ban Lifted From Split Magazine

LD2806204488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Split, June 28 (TANJUG)—The district court in Split, an Adriatic city in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, today anulled its June 24 decision to temporarily ban the distribution of the latest issue of the Split youth magazine OMLADINSKA ISKRA.

The court also rejected the proposal of the Split district attorney to permanently ban the 60th issue of the weekly.

OMLADINSKA ISKRA was temporarily banned after it published excerpts of Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas' lecture at a recent tribute in the Slovenian town of Maribor.

Taking the decision to temporarily ban the magazine, the district attorney assessed the article titled "Milovan Djilas-I Am a Follower of Communism" as hostile propaganda against the foundations of Yugoslavia's social order which was harmful to Yugoslavia's reputation, honor and the late President Tito.

Urging a political concept opposite to that of the Yugoslav Communists, the former Yugoslav party senior official Milovan Djilas was dismissed from all his posts in 1954.

Macedonia on Slovene, Belgrade 'Campaign'

AU2406114388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 88 p 8

[M. Krstic report: "Not Only Army Is Attacked"]

[Text] Skopje, 21 Jun—At the sessions of the assembly chambers held today, delegates of the Macedonian Assembly adopted the proposed changes in the Resolution on the Socioeconomic Development of the Republic for this year, as well as the final account of republican budget for last year. Delegates particularly insisted on the program of the social protection of the population also being adopted as soon as possible.

Explaining the proposed reorganization, Gligorije Gogovski, president of the Republican Executive Council, said that along with reducing the number of republican administrative organs, the need had arisen to reduce the number of members of the Republican Federal Council from 25 to 20. Of the present 2,063 employees (not counting people employed in republican secretariats for internal affairs and national defense), the number is now to be reduced to 1,618, that is, by 22 percent. The number of leading cadres in republican bodies is to be reduced 13 percent.

Expounding on the assertion that the administration is increasing, the president of the Republican Executive Council said that the number of employees in the communal administrative bodies (not counting communal secretariats for internal affairs and national defense) has exceeded 6,500, while another 3,644 people work in 363 different self-managing communities. During last 8 years, the number of people employed in self-managing communities only has increased by 1,033!

At the joint session of the assembly chambers, Lieutenant General Stojan Asprovski, commander of the territorial defense of the SR of Macedonia, presented the report on the work of the republican territorial defense staff during last year.

Briefing the delegates on the campaign that certain forces, above all in the SR of Slovenia, carry out most openly against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection and which has culminated with the arrest of Jansa, Borstner, and Tasic, Lt Gen Asprovski emphasized that, although the public is acquainted with this case, it was "used in the SR of Slovenia for waging a real psychological propagandist war against organs of detection [organ otkrivanja] and military judicial organs," as well as against the YPA. The ultimate aim of this campaign is to disintegrate the Army and render it incapable of performing its functions in defending our independence, territorial entirety, and the setup of the SFRY established by the Constitution. Pointing out that the purpose of the attack is to undermine and weaken the ideopolitical unity and combat readiness of the YPA, to force on society unprincipled public polemics, and to compromise the YPA and present it as a great danger for democracy, self-management, and national equality, Lt Gen Apostolski said that at the same time there are attempts at turning the public against the Army and, thereby, separating the Army from the people.

The commander of the territorial defense of the SR of Macedonia pointed out that the most aggressive in this field are certain groups of intellectuals from the SR of Slovenia which act from the positions of the bourgeois right. Whether independently or goaded by them, "rightist intellectual forces" from other communities, particularly from Belgrade also speak up. Among them are several "well-known people"—Milovan Djilas, Dobrica Cosic, Pavlusko Imsirovic [one of the six dissidents on trial in Belgrade in November 1984], Dusan Bogavac, and others who even asked for support from some international institutions which, he added, shows that there is an intention to internationalize the "case." The campaign that has been launched, Lt Gen Asprovski said, is something that has happened for the first time in Yugoslav judicial and political practice. It can be interpreted only as a part of overall attacks of antisocialist and anti-self-managing forces, above all nationalist-separatist, against Yugoslavia's unity and achievements. "This is an attack not only against the Army, but also against the entire social system of the SFRY," Asprovski said.